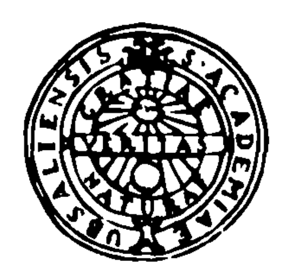
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Life-Giving Blessing

An Inquiry into the Eucharistic Doctrine of Cyril of Alexandria



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Abbreviations

CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum. Vienna 1866ff.
DHG	Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastique, ed. A. Baudrillart. Paris 1912ff.
DTC	Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique, ed. A. Vacant, E. Mangenot, and E. Amann. Paris 1903–1950.
EO	Échos d'Orient. Paris 1897–1942.
ETL	Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses. Louvain 1924ff.
FlP	Florilegium Patristicum, ed. B. Geyer and J. Zellinger. Bonn 1904ff.
GCS	Griechische christliche Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte, hrsg. von der Kirchenväter-Kommission der Preuss. Akademie. Leipzig 1897ff.
Greg	Gregorianum. Rome 1920ff.
HJG	Historisches Jahrbuch der Görresgesellschaft. Cologne 1880ff.; Munich 1950ff.
JdTh	Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie, hrsg. von Liebner, Dorner, Ehrenfeuchter, Wagenmann, Landerer, Palmer, und Weizsäcker. Gotha 1856ff.
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies. London 1900–1905; Oxford 1906–1949; N.S.: Oxford 1950ff.
LfThK	Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche. Freiburg i.B. 1957ff.
LFC	Library of the Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church, ed. E.B. Pusey, J. Keble and J.H. Newman. Oxford, 1838–1888.
LNPF	A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, ed. by Ph. Schaff and H. Wace. Buffalo and New York 1886–1900; reprinted: Grand Rapids 1952ff.
MSR	Mélanges de Science Religieuse. Lille 1944ff.
MTS	Munchener theologische Studien. Munich 1950ff.
Mus	Le Muséon. Revue d'études orientales. Louvain 1881ff.
OC	Oriens Christianus. Leipzig 1901–1941; Wiesbaden 1953ff.
PG	Migne, Patrologia, series graeca. Paris 1886ff.
PRE	Paulys Realencyklopädie der klassischen Alterthumswissenschaft. Stuttgart. 1837ff.
PWK	Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, Realencyklopädie der klassischen Alterthumswissenschaft. Stuttgart 1893ff.
RACh	Reallexikon fur Antike und Christentum, ed. by T. Klauser. Leipzig 1941ff.; Stuttgart 1950ff.

RB	Revue Bénédictine. Maredsous 1884ff.
RHE	Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique. Louvain 1900ff.
ROC	Revue de l'Orient Chrétien. Paris 1896ff.
RSR	Recherches de Science Religieuse. Paris 1910ff.
SCH	Sources Chrétiennes, ed. by H. de Lubac and J. Daniélou. Paris 1941ff.
SP	Studia Patristica. Berlin 1. 1957ff.
ThWzNT	Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament. Stuttgart 1935.
TRE	Theologische Realencyklopädie. Berlin – New York 1976f.
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen. Leipzig - Berlin 1882 ff.
ZNW	Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche. Giessen 1900ff.

Translations of parts of Cyril's works used in this study are taken from L R Wickham, the LFC series, T.H. Bindley and W J. Burghardt. On occasions references to Cyril's works in Migne are accompanied by references to the same texts in Pusey's edition of Cyril's works. In such cases the references are shown within brackets in Roman numerals corresponding to the volumes of Pusey's edition. The writer expresses his indebtedness to authors whose translations he has used.

Introduction

One has to have a certain measure of familiarity with a theologian before one can begin to recognize his worth. The sturdiness and consistency of Cyril's Christology becomes a tangible reality only when one has kept his company for some years.

To speak of the consistency and coherence of Cyril's Christology can easily be interpreted as a sign of ignorance. The Alexandrian Patriarch has been accused not only of lack of integrity in matters of church politics but also of lack of steadfastness in questions of doctrine and theological language. Scholars who are far more qualified than the present writer have shown that there is some truth in these accusations. Nevertheless, there is a context in which Cyril's Christology is spelled out with great consistency and coherence. This is his teaching on the vivifying power of the Eucharist—the body and blood of Him whom Cyril calls 'Life by nature'.

It is therefore all the more surprising that so little attention has been given to this aspect of his theology. It is now almost seventy years since the last lengthy study on Cyril's eucharistic doctrine was published. This work, *Die Eucharistielehre des heiligen Cyrill von Alexandrien* (1910) by the Catholic priest Adolf Struckmann, deals with Cyril's eucharistic theology in a polemical frame of reference, as had several shorter works before him. The earlier studies made by G.E. Steitz (1867), M. Michaud (1902) and J. Mahé (1907) on Cyril's eucharistic theology all revolve around the question of the sense in which Cyril understood the mode of the presence of Christ in the Eucharist. An exception is Eduard Weigl's *Die Heilslehre des hl. Cyrill von Alexandrien* (1905) which tries to place Cyril's teaching on the Eucharist in the context of a comprehensive theological system, in which polemics recede to the background.

The second edition of the second series of Monsignor Pierre Batiffol's *Études D'Histoire et De Théologie Positive* (1930) took up Cyril's and Nestorius' teachings on the Eucharist very briefly under the subtitle *L'Eucharistie, La Présence Réelle et La Transsubstantiation.* Hubert du Manoir's *Dogme et Spiritualité chez Saint Cyrille d'Alexandrie* (1944), was to give a much fuller picture of the eucharistic theology of Cyril in two fairly detailed chapters.

Some years were to elapse before the appearance of Henry Chadwick's article *Eucharist and Christology in the Nestorian Controversy* in the *Journal of Theological Studies* (1951).

To our knowledge there has not, since then, come out any detailed treatment of Cyril's eucharistic theology in any of the modern languages of our day. We are, due to difficulties of language unable to comment on J. Caraza's short study, in

the Romanian language, on *The Eucharistic Theology of Cyril of Alexandria* which came out in 1968.

This brief survey of literature gives the distinct impression that Cyril's eucharistic theology has, for too long a period, not received the attention that it deserves. It is the writer's hope that this study can be a modest contribution to a reawakening of interest in the eucharistic doctrine of a Church Father who has played and continues to play a leading role in ecumenical discussions, particularly among the Churches of the East.

We intend to show that Cyril's understanding of the Person of the Incarnate Word is the dominant feature of his entire theology and that his Christological emphases are vigorously applied to his understanding of the Eucharist. In this sense we trust that this study will be a demonstration of theological consistency in Cyril.

CHAPTER ONE

Cyril Yesterday and Today

1.1 Introduction

In spite of Cyril's stature as a theologian of the entire Christian Church, only a relatively small segment of his works is available in the main literary languages of our day.[1] A fairly detailed portrayal of his life, labours and theological contributions may therefore be in place as we embark upon an examination of the title we have chosen for our work. Once our study is under way, we cannot, in the limited space that is available to us, make too frequent digressions for the purpose of explaining details in the life and times of Cyril. We will need an introductory chapter in which the reader can be provided with brief glimpses into the broad spectrum of Cyril's theology.

1.2 Early Years and Education

According to the chronicles of John, Bishop of Nikiu, Cyril of Alexandria was born in the town of Theodosion, lower Egypt, a place identical with or located very close to the present Mahalla el Kobra.[2] The exact year of his birth is not known, although A.D. 378 has been suggested as a possible date.[3] The first certain date in Cyril's life appears to be 403 when he accompanied his uncle Theophilus, Patriarch of Alexandria, to the 'Synod of the Oak' near Chalcedon, at which John Chrysostom was deposed.[4] Upon the death of his uncle on October 15, 412, Cyril was elevated to the See of Alexandria on October 17 in spite of strong opposition from the government, which wanted an archdeacon by the name of Timothy to succeed Theophilus.[5] Cyril died in 444 after thirty-two years of church leadership marked by an immense amount of literary production in the service of the exposition of the Christian Faith and the fighting of heresy.[6]

In all likelihood Cyril attended the Philosophical-Catechetical School in Alexandria.[7] Cyril's education was thorough and comprehensive.[8] Among the languages with which he equipped himself was Latin. Cyril's knowledge of Latin was to provide him access to commentaries to Holy Scripture by Jerome and to facilitate his contacts with Rome at a later time.[9] It has been claimed that Cyril's interpretation of Scripture was influenced by Jerome.[10]

1.3 Cyril's Use of Philosophy in the Service of Theology

Which philosophical currents does Cyril's education reflect? What are the literary tools which he employs in expounding his theology? Did he have direct access to the works of Greek philosophers or did their works reach him second hand?

Like other prominent Fathers of the Church of Alexandria Cyril was an eclectic.[11] In this respect he had the same attitude to the philosophical world around him as many of the Church Fathers who preceded him. His choice of philosophical arguments or patterns of thought was controlled by Scriptural teaching and precedent.[12] We shall point out three areas in which Cyril employs philosophical and anthropological categories in his exposition of tenets of the Christian Faith and then say something about the possible sources of these categories. One such area is his understanding of Man. Another is his elaboration of the sense in which the union of the divine and human natures in Christ is to be understood. Still another area is his teaching on the different senses in which Holy Scripture is to be understood.

1.3.1 Cyril's Anthropology

In contrast to the trichotomist anthropology of Apollinaris of Laodicea,[13] Cyril's anthropology is dichotomist. For him, man is constituted of two components, an intelligent soul and a sensible, material body. Man is nevertheless by his very nature a unity. For Cyril there is only one life principle in man and he seems to designate this principle consistently as *ψυχή*.[14]

In line with the teachings of Clement of Alexandria,[15] Origen[16] and Athanasius,[17] Cyril maintains that it is in the soul that man's resemblance to God is rooted.[18] Concerning this teaching W.J. Burghardt writes, "The Alexandrian orientation, not surprisingly, finds its springboard in Philo."[19] H. Chadwick maintains that what Cyril thought about the way the soul experiences pleasure and pain has a lot of affinity with the views held by Plotinus on the same subject. For the latter, ". . . the soul is quite incapable of any *πάθος*. The higher soul only has knowledge of pleasure and pain, no actual experience of them. Of these experiences it has a *γνῶσις ἀπαθής*."[20] It is Chadwick's opinion that this view is reechoed in Cyril's Christology which "says nothing about the part played by Christ's soul in the Passion."[21]

1.3.2 Cyril's Use of Analogies from the Realm of Philosophy in Explaining the Union of the Natures in Christ

Cyril used the relationship between soul and body in man as his favourite analogy for the relationship between the Logos and His flesh.[22]

He was not alone in resorting to such a usage. This analogy, borrowed from the

philosophies of Plato and Aristotle, was used among the Cappadocian Fathers, the Fathers of the Church of Alexandria and those of Antioch.[23]

We shall not go into the different senses in which the Platonic and Aristotelian traditions understood the relationships between body and soul. Cyril appears to have belonged to a tradition which underlined the view that though body and soul were wholly disparate essences, they were nevertheless indivisibly conjoined in the human person. This emphasis appears to be more in line with the Platonic than with the Aristotelian tradition.[24]

H. Wolfson maintains that in their search for an analogy which would clearly associate the concept of 'Person' in the Incarnation with the Logos, without thereby implying a cancellation of the reality of the human component of this union, Church Fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries explored "... the various kinds of physical union discussed by Aristotle and other Greek philosophers and their search ended when in Aristotle and his commentator Alexander Aphrodisienses they found one kind of union which answered their purpose."[25]

Wolfson designates this union as a 'union of predominance'. It implies a coming together of two unequal components in such a way that the more powerful of the two becomes the dominant element of the resultant union. The smaller or weaker component is not destroyed but is related to the greater as matter is to form.[26]

Wolfson points out that Cyril uses the concept of 'composition' (*σύνθεσις*) in his explanation of the union of the two natures in Christ,[27] but adds that he rejects the idea of juxtaposition or confusion as an explanation of this union.[28] In Cyril's use of the analogies of 'fire' and 'wood', 'fire' and 'iron' and 'smells', Wolfson recognizes analogies commonly used as illustrations of the union of 'predominance'.[29] On the basis of these analogies Wolfson maintains that Cyril also used the term 'composition' not in its ordinary sense of 'juxtaposition' but in the sense of a union which implies the predominance of one of the components which constitute a given union.[30]

We are not in a position to go into a critique of Wolfson's views as regards the philosophical sources and implications of the analogies used by the Fathers of the Church to illustrate the union in the Incarnation. We are however in agreement with Wolfson in the view that Cyril's analogies for the union of the two natures in Christ are meant to bring out the dominant role that the Logos plays in the being and operations of the God-Man. We shall elaborate on this matter at a later time in connection with our treatment of Cyril's *ἕνωσις καθ' ὑπόστασιν*.

1.3.3 The Philosophical Background to Cyril's Exegesis of Scripture

As a general rule, Cyril maintains that Scripture is to be understood in two senses: the literal and the spiritual.[31] The difference between these two senses of Scripture "... lies *chiefly* in the objects described by them; the sense is literal if the objects

envisaged by it are *τὰ αἰσθητά*; it is spiritual if they belong to the category of *τὰ νοητά* and *τὰ πνευματικά* . . . St Cyril's theory of the sense of Scripture supposes the conception of the dual world . . ."[32] This conception of the dual world is derived from Plato's division of being into a world of sensible realities and a transcendent, non-sensible world of Forms or Ideas which are apprehended by the intellect alone.[33]

We know that these two categories for the interpretation of Scripture were well established in the history of exegesis in the School of Alexandria.[34] Philo used them in close connection with his Platonic conception of a dual world.[35] He even compares them to the body and soul of a living being.[36]

Clement of Alexandria too was acquainted with these two fundamental divisions.[37] The same holds true of Didymus, Origen's disciple.[38]

It is Kerrigan's view that Cyril's twofold division of Scripture as well as his insistence (in contrast to Origen) that not all details of the Old Testament yield a spiritual meaning, are probably traceable to Didymus.[39]

More recently, W.A. Bienert has pointed out that it cannot be demonstrated that Cyril was directly influenced by Didymus in his exegesis of Scripture. He writes, "Bei Kyrill von Alexandrien findet sich zwar auch die 'allegorische' Auslegung der Alexandriner wieder, aber ein direkter Einfluss des Didymos auf die Exegese Kyrills ist nicht nachweisbar. Es ist im Gegenteil auffallend, dass der in der origenistischen Tradition der Exegese wichtige Terminus *ἀναγωγή* bei Kyrill fehlt."[40]

As an exegete Cyril does not operate only on the basis of the contrast between Plato's intelligible, supersensual world of ideas, which alone merits the name of reality, and the sensible material world, which is only the image and appearance of the former. There is a further dimension to Cyril's understanding of the spiritual sense of Scripture. For him ". . . the objects of the spiritual sense are identical with the various realities that belong to 'Christ's mystery'. That is the realm of being with which our author identifies Plato's intelligible world . . ."[41]

1.3.4 The Sources of Cyril's Philosophical Tools

Where did Cyril get the categories with the help of which he expounds tenets of the Christian Faith? We are not in a position to give a conclusive answer to this question. We can only point to possible channels through which the tools of philosophy could have been made available to him.

Robert M. Grant has shown that in composing his treatise *Contra Julianum*, Cyril made use of writings by Clement of Alexandria, Eusebius of Caesarea, Justin Martyr and the treatise *De Trinitate* as sources for or pointers to the type of Greek literature which could be used in the defence of the Christian Faith.[42]

Grant is of the opinion that Cyril's most important source in this respect was Eusebius. He is believed to have led Cyril into the writings of Alexander Aphrodisias (a person in whose writings the Fathers of the fourth and fifth cen-

turies found, according to Wolfson, a suitable analogy for the union of the divine and human natures in the Incarnation), Philostratus, Plotinus and Porphyry.[43] There seems to be clear evidence that Cyril used a treatise by Alexander Aphrodisias in composing his *Contra Julianum*.[44]

Cyril cannot be said to have been an avid student of Greek Philosophy. Neither was he a mere plagiarizer of the works of other Christian Fathers in this respect. He got the greater part of his tools in the realm of Greek literature and philosophy through other writers, but also did a good deal of his own research following the leads given to him by these writers.[45]

1.4 Cyril's Dependence on Church Fathers Who Preceded Him

Though Cyril's exposure to the prevalent philosophical currents of his time was to provide him with tools for the spelling out of the Christian Faith, he was far more at home in the world of Scripture, of the Fathers, and of the heritage of thought accumulated around the Incarnation, than he was in the world of philosophy.[46]

In the days when Cyril taught and wrote, the mark of a good theologian was not innovation, but conformity: conformity to a teaching tradition and to doctrinal formulations hallowed by many decades of 'orthodox' usage. The Church of antiquity reserved its praises to those who spelled out, defined, redefined and underlined the cumulative witness of men of faith and virtue.

The primary problem with Apollinaris and Nestorius was not that they were men of defective piety or inadequate knowledge of the Scriptures and the Fathers. It was rather that they appeared as innovators and that they introduced (in the opinions of their opponents in any case) dissonance into the theological symphony of the Fathers who had preceded them.[47]

As a theologian, Cyril appears to have made a conscious effort to avoid innovations–and to support his views by resorting to the Scriptures, to the Fathers, and to the body of teaching which had grown out of their writings.[48]

It is generally recognized that the main shapers of his theological views are Athanasius[49] and the author of *De Trinitate*, who has been traditionally identified with Didymus of Alexandria–a position which has now been contested.[50] As J. Liébaert has demonstrated, it is primarily in his writings against the Arians that Cyril shows clear evidence of dependence on these teachers.[51] Nevertheless Cyril was at home in the works of many other Church Fathers in the School of Alexandria. Patristic scholarship gives him credit for fostering and advancing, more than any other Father before him, the use of testimony from the writings of the Fathers as an authority alongside of Scripture, in theological argumentation.

The fact that Cyril was basically a guardian of a given heritage–of a tradition arising from and moulded by the Scriptures, the Fathers and the councils of the Church, explains why he has been called the 'Seal of the Fathers' (*σφραγίς τῶν πατέρων*).[52] As soon as Cyril leaves the well-trodden path of the Church's

traditional formulations of the Faith, as soon as he tries to elaborate with more precision that which had been said before him, he has a proneness to get into trouble. One gets the impression that this was what happened with his *Anathemas* against Nestorius. In writing these *Anathemas*, Cyril ran the risk of overstating his case.[53] In trying to formulate his understanding of Christological doctrine in terms of compactly summarized propositions, he was attempting, single-handed, a task which has been known to tax the resources of eminent Church councils to their limits. His pointedness was to result in a theological storm among those Antiochene theologians who until the appearance of the *Anathemas* were not fully unsympathetic to his defence of 'Theotokos'.[54]

Cyril's proneness to repeat that which he had received from the past often tends to make his writings monotonous. Nevertheless, in the midst of his frequent repetitions of the doctrinal tradition in which he was nurtured, Cyril *accentuates* and *spells out* certain key theological truths. His originality consists in the *emphasis* and the *wealth of combinations* with which he does so.

1.5 A Theology Enunciated in a Context of Controversy

There is a noticeable difference in spirit between the way Cyril wrote on debated issues during the Nestorian controversy and the way he wrote on the same issues after his reconciliation with the Oriental bishops. His attitude to Nestorius and to his teaching remained unchanged. However some of the documents in which he gave his reasons for subscribing to the theology of the *Formula of Union* indicate that Cyril could in fact operate with a breadth of theological interpretation and a tolerance which could build bridges between types of theology cultivated on different soils. His epistles to Acacius of Melitene and to Succensus, bishop of Diocaesarea in Isauria, reflect such features.[55]

There is no way of demonstrating conclusively Loofs' statement that Nestorius "... could have accepted the creed of Chalcedon and its standards of faith as easily as Theodoret, for he could have reconciled himself to Cyril's *epistola dogmatica* if understanding the ἕνωσις καθ' ὑπόστασιν in the sense of a *personal* union. . ."[56] Nevertheless one is inclined to agree with J. Liébaert when he indicates that it was lack of a positive effort on the part of Cyril to establish genuine dialogue with Nestorius in the initial stages of the controversy which led to a hardening of the positions of the two theologians. Liébaert writes, "On peut craindre en cette affaire, au moins du côté de Cyrille pour le moment, l'absence d'ouverture à un vrai dialogue, et ce sera en effet un des aspects du drame qui commençait à se nouer en 429 que cette inclination de chacun des antagonistes à n'interpreter la pensée et le langage de l'autre qu'en fonction de son langage personnel et de la logique de son propre système."[57]

As far as his controversy with Nestorius is concerned, the picture that one often gets of Cyril is that of a crusader for his own theological emphases—not that

of a bridge-builder. One has a strong feeling that because Cyril was a crusader, he tended to be one-sided in the points that he emphasized. In him one does not see the marks of a mediator, a conciliator of divergent views. How is one to account for this apparent tendency in Cyril?

Some of the people with whom Cyril associated in his young, formative years could have contributed to an accentuation of the polemical and the toning down of the contemplative in his life. It will be remembered that he had, as a young man, accompanied his uncle Theophilus to the 'Synod of the Oak' where John Chrysostom was deposed. His uncle and predecessor in the See of Alexandria, Theophilus, could not have been a positive spiritual pattern for Cyril to copy.[58]

But above all, it should be remembered that the theological terrain on which Cyril operated was more like battle-ground than the quiet milieu to which contemplatives withdraw. A good part of his theology was hammered out on the anvil of controversy.

The rivalries between the Sees of Alexandria and Antioch constitute an important background to Cyril's labours and struggles as a theologian.[59] This rivalry was only one example of the many factors which made the milieu in which Cyril operated a hotbed of controversy for a good part of his episcopal career.

Paganism was still a force to contend with in the Egypt of Cyril's day. That this Paganism could have its refined forms is evidenced by the fact that a person of the academic fame of the female Neoplatonist philosopher, Hypatia, (whose brutal murder was to cast a shadow of suspicion on Cyril) could arise from its ranks.[60]

The fact that Cyril wrote his *For the Holy Religion of the Christians Against the Books of the Impious Julian*, a reply to the latter's three books *Against the Galilaeans*, after more than twenty-five years as bishop of Alexandria, indicates that Julian's works were still a potent tool in the hands of deriders of the Christian Faith.[61]

That Cyril had a pronouncedly negative attitude towards Judaism and that this attitude is reflected in his interpretation of Scripture, has been underlined by A. Kerrigan, L.M. Armendariz and R.L. Wilken.[62]

Arianism in its earlier expressions, as well as in a later form known as Eunomianism, appears to have been a major challenge in Cyril's day.[63]

After 429, the controversy with Nestorius and with the theologians of Antioch became an overarching concern in Cyril's writings. So much so that it is not uncommon, in the history of doctrine, to mention the names of Cyril and Nestorius in the same breath. It is this fact that A. Grillmeier underlines when he writes, "The immediate counterpart to the Christology of Nestorius is Cyril of Alexandria and his Christological doctrine. The latter achieved its historical importance precisely through its opposition to Nestorius, so acute that even Leo was held by Cyril's supporters to be on the side of Nestorius."[64]

In the heat of his attacks against the Christologies of Antioch, and of Nestorius, Cyril used doctrinal formulations (this was the case especially with his *Anathemas* against Nestorius) which led to his accusation by Antiochene

theologians of being Apollinarian.[65] Cyril's attempts to clear himself of this charge can be said to be the reverse side of his engagement in the controversy with Nestorius. If we liken Nestorius to Cyril's line of attack, we can liken Apollinaris to Cyril's line of defence.

Scholars like A. Rehrmann, H.M. Diepen and A. Grillmeier have indicated those points on which Cyril can be cleared of charges of Apollinarianism.[66] Nevertheless their works reflect the fact that it was not without reason that his Christology was likened to that of the bishop of Laodicea.

That there are many similarities between the Christologies of Cyril and Apollinaris is a widely accepted fact. Many scholars maintain that Cyril used the *μία φύσις* formula found in *Ad Jovianum* in the belief that it was of Athanasian origin,[67] whereas it was in fact Apollinarian. Cyril's equation of *physis* and *hypostasis*, his tendency to regard the Logos as the *one* centre of the life and mission of the Incarnate Word, his neglect of the role of the soul of Christ in the earlier stages of his Christology and his proneness to operate with the concepts of the *δύναμις* and *ἐνέργεια* of the Logos in his elaboration of the Incarnation and the benefits it bestows on the faithful have been taken as signs of a basic kinship between his Christology and that of Apollinaris.[68]

There can be one of two explanations for the similarities between the Christologies of these two teachers. One can assume that Cyril was consciously dependent on Apollinaris, that the two had common theological and anthropological points of departure and that they shared an important explanatory principle in the realm of Christology. However the fact that Cyril is unequivocally critical of the Christology of Apollinaris and that he regarded him as a heretic in the category of Arius and Eunomius rules out this first assumption.[69]

A second possibility is that Cyril could have used the writings of Apollinaris on the assumption that they came from the pens of 'orthodox' writers. There is much to support this assumption. At the turn of the fifth century the writings of Apollinaris and his followers began to circulate under the names of 'orthodox' teachers such as Julius of Rome, a supporter of Athanasius, and of Athanasius himself, without arousing suspicion. Cyril is believed to have received some of his basic ideas from such writings.[70]

There are good grounds for the assumption that both Cyril and Apollinaris stood in the tradition of Athanasius and that the similarities of their Christologies could be traced back to their great master. Apollinaris in fact considered himself as a disciple of Athanasius.[71] A lot of what he wrote had the ring of his master's teaching. In fact Henric Nordberg regards *Ad Jovianum* not as a work of Apollinaris but rather as a genuine confession presented to the Emperor Jovian by Athanasius.[72]

It is difficult to assume that Cyril could have started from the same philosophical and anthropological problems that Apollinaris grappled with. It would be more plausible to assert that they both stood in the same tradition and that they accentuated Christological trends already present in the theology of Athanasius.

1.6 The Evolution of Cyril's Christology

1.6.1 Evolution of Terminology–Not of Christology as Such

Cyril scholars are by and large agreed that the essential elements of Cyril's Christology were developed already before the outbreak of the Nestorian controversy. E. Weigl,[73] and J. Liébaert[74] are of this opinion. Nevertheless on certain points Cyril's Christology does show signs of having undergone an evolution.

Cyril's Christology is marked by an emphasis on the unity of the Person of Christ, although in describing the relationship between the two natures in Christ in his earlier Christology, he uses terms which he was to avoid or qualify during and after the Nestorian controversy. During the period preceding this controversy, Cyril used the term 'inhabitation' as a description of the relation between God and Man in the Incarnation. The concepts of 'temple' and 'house' were also used by him as ways of explaining the dwelling of the Logos in the flesh. The Nestorian controversy was to oblige him to be more strictly selective of his terminology and of the analogies which he was to use to illustrate the union of the two natures in Christ. Cyril's terminology becomes more acute. Whereas in the earlier period Cyril felt free to employ the word 'assume' with regard to the Incarnation, he now teaches that the Word became man but did not assume a man.[75]

Furthermore, this earlier Christology has been said to be characterized by neglect of the importance of the role of the soul of Christ in the life of the God-Man. This trait is a mark of the so-called *Logos-sarx* Christology, among whose proponents scholars as a rule include Athanasius, Apollinaris, and Cyril.[76]

1.6.2 Critique of Classifications Logos-sarx and Logos-anthropos

Some scholars feel that it is an oversimplification to classify Cyril under either the *Logos-sarx* or *Logos-anthropos* schools of Christology.

G. Jouassard expresses this view when he writes, "... bien que soucieux de tradition, cet auteur se montre singulièrement independant, jusqu'à paraître éclectique, surtout pour la terminologie ... Tel se montre à nous saint Cyrille, nullement en tenant d'une école ni d'un schéma, quelles que puissent être les apparences."[77] It is Jouassard's contention that even in his earlier Christology Cyril used terms like *ναός*, *σάρξ* and *ἄνθρωπος*, in the sense of man with a human soul.[78] For Cyril '*Verbe-chair*' is equivalent to '*Verbe-homme*'.[79]

Recently R.A. Norris has again underlined the need of caution in classifying Cyril strictly under a specific school of Christology. He writes, "In the first place he never manages to come down on the side of either one of the two traditional versions of this theme. He does–the point scarcely needs emphasis–employ figures and ideas which are ordinarily associated with a 'Logos-Flesh' Christology–not merely the soul-body analogy itself, but also, and notably, the soteriological motif of the vivification of the flesh through its union with the

Logos. At the same time however, he works habitually on the assumption that the 'flesh' which the Word assumes is full human nature, which therefore includes a rational human soul; and this assumption (the defence of which in fact occasions much of his use of the 'composition' theme) sets his position outside of the sphere of the 'Logos-Flesh' model and renders his rapprochement of 433 with the Orientals entirely credible."[80]

1.7 The Essence of Cyril's Christology

1.7.1 Emphasis on the Unity of Christ

One of Cyril's last anti-Nestorian writings, a dialogue on the unity of the Person of Christ which was highly prized in antiquity for its maturity of thought and expression, bears the title *Quod unus sit Christus* (Christ is One).[81]

This work goes in detail into the recurring Cyrillian theme of the union of the two natures in Christ. That Cyril's works sometimes show a lack of uniformity of theological terminology, and that the thought patterns he uses to expound on the Incarnation vary has been pointed out by more than one Cyril scholar.[82] Nevertheless there is an underlying unity to Cyril's Christology. Cyril transfers the implications of this unity into the realms of exegesis, worship and life. The Incarnation is the one point of reference to which the whole spectrum of Christian doctrine and life could be related.[83] It is through the Incarnation–and more specifically through the hypostatic union of the two natures–that man is vivified and restored to incorruptibility. This is the fundamental basis of Cyril's soteriology and of his eucharistic theology.

1.7.2 Emphasis on the Reality of the Incarnation

Behind this emphasis lies Cyril's understanding of John 1:14 and Phil. 2:7–8. We propose that for Cyril the wonder of the Incarnation is revealed not only in the fact that the *Word* became flesh but also in the fact that He *became flesh*. This emphasis explains why Cyril could use some very bold language about what the flesh of Christ is and what it could accomplish as we shall see later on in this study. It is true, Cyril has been accused of having impoverished the reality of the human element in the Incarnation particularly through his neglect of the role of the soul of Christ in the life and mission of the Word Incarnate. Nevertheless he cannot be accused of having minimized the role of Christ's flesh. This fact is very evident in what he says about the Eucharist and the benefits that it bestows. Cyril argued, in effect, that the Incarnation has given the Christian theologian unprecedented freedom of language. The Incarnation has broken down not only a spiritual barrier but also a *language* barrier between God and Man. For him the Economy has not only brought God nearer to man but also given man green light

to dare to affirm human attributes of God and divine attributes of man—although this is to be done strictly within the context of the Incarnation. This is perhaps the most crucial area of Cyril's Christology.[84] For him however the *communicatio idiomatum* is to be understood not simply in a metaphorical sense but in a concrete sense in which the human nature shares divine predicates and the divine nature shares human predicates.

In contrast to this Cyrillian emphasis, what speaks through Antiochene theologians is the concept of the exalted nature of God—His holiness, His complete otherness *vis-à-vis* His creation.

Nestorius felt that Cyril's *communicatio idiomatum* constituted a transgression of the ineradicable boundary between God and man. For him the mutual appropriation of attributes implied by the Incarnation did not justify the type of language which threatened to drag God down to the level of the creature and to make a deity out of the creature.[85]

1.8 The Controversy Over 'Theotokos'

What is one to think of the Nestorian controversy which was such a dominant feature of Cyril's life and labours after 429?

On the European continent, Cyril scholars of Roman Catholic persuasion have, by and large, tended to minimize the role of the non-theological factors in the controversy between Cyril and Nestorius. For many of these scholars, the motives which led Cyril to attack Nestorius were basically of a theological nature. A number of leading German Protestant scholars have however found Cyril vulnerable precisely on the subject of the motives for his involvement in the controversy. F. Loofs, E. Schwartz and A. von Campenhausen are all at one in regarding the theological issues raised by Cyril as a camouflage for attacking Nestorius for receiving some Egyptian monks who had complaints against Cyril, and for starting inquiries into these complaints.[86]

In this regard, Anglican Patristic scholarship (Prestige, Chadwick, Wickham) occupies something of a middle position. It has been more ready to see genuine theological concerns behind Cyril's controversy with Nestorius, without denying thereby that there were non-theological factors involved in the controversy over 'Theotokos'.

Among the Chalcedonian and non-Chalcedonian Churches of the East Cyril has been a bone of contention on matters of Christological doctrine. However, neither of these traditions have ever seriously questioned his motives in the controversy with Nestorius.

Cyril can, on good grounds, be said to have reactivated the controversy over 'Theotokos' which had arisen already prior to the coming of Nestorius to Constantinople and which seems to have subsided through the mediatory efforts of Nestorius.[87] He can be held responsible for adding fuel to this controversy, for

taking advantage of it and for being intransigent with regard to Nestorius. Nevertheless, Cyril did not create the Nestorian controversy. Neither were his main arguments against the School of Antioch and Nestorius rounded up hastily to meet the battle-needs of the moment. His main objections to Antiochene Christology had been voiced several years before Nestorius came to Constantinople.[88]

The School of Antioch and Cyril's main opponent, Nestorius, could be said to have served as a catalyst in the spelling out of Cyril's Christology. The term 'Theotokos' had been used by theologians before the days of Cyril and Nestorius. However, until the outbreak of the controversy the sort of issues which could challenge people to spell out the deeper implications of this term had not yet come to a head.

The Nestorian controversy and what Cyril wrote around it were to set in motion a number of other related currents of thought. The question of the relationship of the two natures in Christ was now flung at the forefront of the Church's theological concerns. The question as to how Christ was to be described in terms of His natures was to engage theologians for centuries to come.

1.9 Cyril's Legacy

1.9.1 Cyril's Influence on Individual Theologians

Two things seem to have contributed to making Cyril a Father of the entire Christian Church. By far the bigger part of Christendom has always regarded him as a faithful witness to the teachings of the 'orthodox' Fathers of the Church. Furthermore, he stands at a safe distance within the boundaries of the undivided Church of antiquity. He stands on the far side of Ephesus (449) and Chalcedon (451) and is thus cited as an authority by both parties for whom these two church councils were to become dividing walls.

Cyril's writings and his key Christological formulations were to send eddies into the far reaches of Christendom, already during his life-time, but much more so after his death. Even those who lamented what they considered to be his inconsistencies on doctrinal issues, built on his basic Christological presuppositions.

At the Synod of Constantinople in 448, Eutychus, the controversial archimandrite of Constantinople (whose radical 'monophysitism' Theodoret of Cyrus had attacked in his *Eranistes*[89]) appealed to Cyril as his principal authority in refusing to confess two natures in Christ after the union of the Incarnation.[90]

The Council of Ephesus of 449 assembled under the leadership of Dioscorus, not only reinstated Eutychus but practically declared the *Anathemas* of Cyril to be an article of faith.[91]

F. Loofs has pointed out that in attributing both the works of wonder and the suffering of Christ to one point of reference (*ἑνὸς εἶναί φαμεν τά τε θαύματα καὶ τὰ*

πάθη) instead of underlining the distinction of the natures in Christ also in this respect, the *Henotikon* of the Emperor Zeno issued in 482 gave an interpretation of Chalcedon which followed the Cyrillian tradition.[92]

The *theopaschite* formula, *εἷς τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος πέπονθε σαρκί*, once used as a 'shibboleth' by the Scythian monks, makes the Logos the subject of the suffering of the Incarnate Word.[93] This formula is a radical spelling out of Cyril's twelfth anathema against Nestorius: Whoever does not acknowledge God's Word as having suffered in flesh, been crucified in flesh, tasted death in flesh and been made firstborn from the dead because as God He is Life and life-giving, shall be anathema.[94]

Three prominent theologians of the variety of the Christological emphasis which later came to be known as 'monophysitism', Timotheus Aelurus, Philoxenus of Mabbug and Severus of Antioch, sought consciously to orient their Christologies along lines previously charted by Cyril.[95]

The question as to whether Leontius of Byzantium is to be regarded as Cyrillian or as Origenist has been debated.[96] Though the extent to which he reproduces the Christology of Cyril is open to discussion, his teaching that the human nature of the Incarnate Word has its subsistence in the hypostasis of the Word strongly suggests a kinship between his Christology and that of Cyril. To use the words of Altaner-Stuiber, "Leontius war der erste der mit dem Ausdruck *ἐνυπόστατον* das Geheimnis der *ἕνωσις καθ' ὑπόστασιν* auf eine kurze und treffende Formel brachte."[97]

As L. Thunberg has pointed out, Cyril of Alexandria plays an outstanding role in the writings of Maximus Confessor, the fighter against 'monothelitism'.[98] Maximus was to find support for his position even in the key quotation from Cyril used by 'monophysite' circles to support their monothelite position: One connatural energy in (or through) duality (*μία τε καὶ συγγενὴς δι' ἀμφοῖν ἐνέργεια*).[99]

1.9.2 Cyril's Influence on the Churches of Christendom

Cyril's influence was to make itself felt far beyond the confines of the land of his birth. The Ethiopian Orthodox Church holds him as her teacher *par excellence*. Its most ancient and most important doctrinal manual bears the name Qêrillos (Cyril). This work contains translations into Geez of Cyril's *De recta fide ad Theodosium imperatorem; Prosphoneticus ad Reginas*, and *Quod unus sit Christus* as well as a collection of homilies and extracts from the works of several Fathers of the Greek Church.[100] E. Hammerschmidt characterizes this collection of documents as "Eine Reihe dogmatischer Abhandlungen, die alle von der Polemik gegen die Nestorianer geprägt sind und daher die Einheit der beiden Naturen in Christus betonen."[101]

The Roman Catholic Church regards Cyril as the champion and defender of the Catholic Faith in the East. The Sacred Congregation of Rites gave him the

title 'Doctor ecclesiae' on July 28, 1882.[102] Catholic theologians still hold the lead as students of Cyril.

It is worthy of note that in expounding his Christology a distinguished representative of Lutheran theology, Martin Chemnitz, appealed to the authorities of three names: Cyril, John of Damascus and Luther.[103] T. Hardt has indicated that certain Lutheran theologians have seen a kinship between Cyril's Christology and that of the Lutheran tradition.[104] One of the main points of kinship between the Christologies of Cyril and Luther is reflected in these words of Helmut Echternach, written in a chapter on Cyril and Nestorius: "Das Geheimnis der Weihnacht besteht gerade darin, dass gegen alle Vernunft und gegen alle Möglichkeiten das Unendliche doch in das Endliche einging. Niemand hat es so gewaltig ausgesprochen wie Martin Luther . . ."[105]

1.10 Cyril and the Unity of the Church

1.10.1 Cyril and the Unity of the Church of Yesterday

The Christological currents which Cyril set in motion can be said to have contributed both to unity and division within the Church. Cyril's uncompromising doctrinal stand in the controversy with Nestorius led to a widespread study of certain key Christological concepts whose contents were subsequently spelled out with a greater degree of precision. This in itself was an aid in arriving at consensus and contributed to unity. Many now knew what to believe on the 'Theotokos' issue and on the question of the relationship of the two natures in Christ if they were to remain 'orthodox'.

Nevertheless, this very search for precision carried within itself the seeds of division. In matters of Christology (and theology in general for that matter) the pursuit of precision often gives birth to new conflicts and divisions. This was precisely what happened with the *Formula of Union*, to which Cyril and the Oriental bishops subscribed, and with the Chalcedonian definition of the Faith. In this sense, the Christological issues taken up and accentuated by Cyril can be said to have sown the seeds of division in the Church.

1.10.2 Cyril as an Ecumenical Factor Today

In many ways, the Cyril of the period of controversies of the early part of the fifth century and the centuries which followed looks different from what he has done before. In recent years, his adherents on both sides of the monophysite-diophysite controversy have started looking at each other in different lights. In Cyril they seem to have found a theological authority who can pave the way to reunification. Eastern Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox theologians have expressed their readiness to take as their common ground and foundation ". . . the theology of

Cyril as well as expressions used in the *Formula of Concord* of 433 between St Cyril and John of Antioch, the terminology used in the four later Councils and in the patristic and liturgical texts on both sides."[107] Thus, more than fifteen centuries after Cyril's death, the very document of reconciliation with Antioch, which caused consternation among his supporters like Valerian of Iconium and Acacius of Melitene in Armenia, and alienated his successor Dioscorus,[108] is being studied as a possible source of concord.

1.11 Implications of Recent Nestorius Research for Cyril Research

Cyril looks different in our days because his main opponent, Nestorius, is being looked at in a new light by students of Patristics. The centuries which have elapsed since the death of the two theologians seem to have resulted in a measure of revindication of Nestorius. The discovery of *The Treatise of Heracleides* (around 1889) and its publication in Syriac, French and English in the decades that followed[109] was to open a new chapter in Nestorius research. The reexamination and analysis of Nestorius' teachings carried out on the basis of this work by scholars like F. Bethune-Baker, P. Bedjan, F. Nau, F. Loofs, G.R. Driver, L. Hodgson, E. Schwartz, L.I. Scipioni, and L. Abramowski have thrown new light on the theological terminology and the Christological presuppositions of Nestorius[110] and, in so doing, brought about a swing also in Cyril research.

1.12 Closing Remarks

Cyril's name and teaching have probably remained more alive in the theological consciousness of the Churches in the East than the name of Athanasius. We feel that this is due to the relevance and urgency of the Christological issues which he took up. The urgency of the question of the divinity of Christ, challenged by Arius and later by Eunomius as well as their adherents, had begun to recede into the background. It was not, in any case, the most pressing issue among 'orthodox' theologians after Cyril's days. The question of the relationship of the two natures in Christ was, and still is.

There seems to be little doubt as to what Cyril intended to say in this regard although his language has led to a lot of confusion. He is in fact saying: Man's vivification, his restoration to incorruptibility and the life of virtue is dependent on *Who* does the vivifying and on how we understand the relationship between His divine and human natures. In this concern of Cyril's we catch an echo of the concern of his great teacher who once taught and fought for the Faith from the same See. In his controversy with Arius and his followers a central concern of

Athanasius' was to show that man's salvation depended fundamentally on *Who* Christ was. Thus Athanasius tried to show how the effectiveness of Christ's redemptive mission was indissolubly tied to His Person.

A similar concern is evident in Cyril's enunciation of the meaning of the Incarnation. In effect Cyril is saying: A Jesus who is merely conjoined to the Logos or merely indwelt by God cannot vivify mankind and restore man to incorruptibility and the life of sanctity. It is the implications of this basic concern of Cyril for the Eucharist which we shall be delving into as we pursue our examination of the Eucharist as 'Life-giving Blessing'.

Notes on Chapter One

1 Some of Cyril's works have been translated into English in the series *Library of the Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church*, E B. Pusey, J Keble and J H. Newman (eds), Oxford, 1838–1888. By present standards, however, the language of these translations is archaic For further details see Quasten 1960 120, 123, 124 where the author indicates also translations into German For translations into French see Durand 1964 and 1976. For translations of some of Cyril's works from Ethiopic into German, see Weischer 1967 and 1973.
2 Charles 1916 75ff.; Durand 1964 7, Munier 1947 200.
3 Abel 1947 230
4 Quasten 1960 117.
5 Ibid 116.
6 Manoir 1944 26ff.; Jouassard 1945, 1956 499ff. (RACh).
7 Weigl 1905 2
8 Kerrigan 1952 8ff.; Abel 1947 210ff.
9 Durand 1964 14f
10 Kerrigan 1952 435ff., Abel 1941.
11 Weigl 1905 3.
12 It appears that in spite of his acquaintance with and his use of elements of the main philosophical systems of his time, Cyril was critical of non-Christian philosophies As von Campenhausen has put it, "Philosophische Begriffe werden nur gelegentlich und ganz oberflächlich herangezogen Kyrill verachtet die heidnischen Philosophen, die sich in ihrer Weisheit so oft 'widersprechen' und ihr Bestes doch nur von Moses gestohlen haben." Campenhausen 1967 154
13 For references to studies on the anthropology of Apollinaris see Grillmeier 1975 332.
14 Weigl 1905 28. On Cyril's anthropology see Jouassard 1955 361ff ; Diepen 1956 20ff.; 1957; Burghardt 1957; Dratsellas 1970 441ff and 545ff.; 1971 519ff.
15 Burghardt 1957 12
16 Ibid 13.
17 Ibid 13
18 Ibid. 20ff
19 Ibid 12
20 Chadwick 1951 162.
21 Ibid. 159.
22 In his *Second Letter to Succensus* Cyril writes, "If we call the Only-begotten Son of God become incarnate and made man 'one', that does not mean he has been 'merged', as they suppose; the Word's nature has not transferred to the nature of the flesh or that of the flesh to that of the Word—no, while each element was seen to persist in its particular natural character for the reason just given, mysteriously and inexpressibly unified, he displayed to us one nature (but as I said, *incarnate* nature) of the Son. 'One' is a term applied properly not only to basic single elements but to such composite entities as man compounded of soul and body. Soul and body are different kinds of thing and are not mutually consubstantial; yet united they consitute man's single nature despite the fact that the difference in nature of the elements brought into unity is present in the composite condition It is therefore idle for them to claim that if there is one incarnate nature of the Word it follows there must have been a merger and mixture, the actual human being diminishing by removal." *ep 46* (ACO 1 1.6 159f ; PG 77 241BC), *Chr.un.* (PG 75 1292AB or Durand 1964 374). See also *ep 17* 4, 8 (ACO 1 1.1 36, 38)
23 Wolfson 1970 368.
24 Kelly 1968 321, 313.
25 Wolfson 1970 374.
26 Ibid 385

27 Ibid. 408.
28 Ibid. 409
29 Ibid
30 Ibid.
31 Kerrigan 1952 32ff.
32 Ibid 33
33 Ibid 125
34 Kelly 1968 19f.; 70ff.
35 Kerrigan 1952 28.
36 Ibid.
37 Ibid
38 Ibid 32
39 Ibid. 440. On Cyril the exegete, Campenhausen has the following to say, "Kyrills Schriftauslegung halt gegen den auflösenden Spiritualismus des Origenes grundsatzlich am 'historischen' Sinn der heiligen Texte fest. Aber in Wirklichkeit lebt seine Auslegung ganz von der traditionellen Allegorese und Typologese, und mit der unmittelbar menschlichen Bedeutung der biblischen Geschichten kann sie kaum etwas anfangen." Campenhausen 1967 154ff.
40 Bienert 1972 165
41 Kerrigan 1952 131 On Cyril's use of the two senses of Scripture in the interpretation of the N T, see Kerrigan 1957 354ff. See also Sauer 1965 38ff
42 Grant 1964 269
43 Ibid 272 See also Hebensperger 1927, and Manoir 1944 448ff where the latter author indicates the 'profane' authors from whom Cyril quotes in his *Contra Julianum*
44 Grant 1964 279.
45 Ibid 271ff.
46 Weigl 1905 3f Campenhausen writes, "Das bestimmende Interesse ist ausschliesslich dogmatisch und polemisch, d h. die Bibel widerlegt die Irrlehren der Häretiker und begrundet die rechte Anschauung von der Heiligen Dreieinigkeit und der gottmenschlichen Person des Erlösers, auf die sich die wahre Frömmigkeit aufbaut" Campenhausen 1967 155.
47 The authority and dependability of the Fathers is a subject to which Cyril often returns. Commenting on the Nicaean Creed and the Fathers who formulated it, Cyril writes, "Is it possible, indeed, to doubt that Christ invisibly presided over that holy and grand council? The confession of a faith pure and spotless was in process of being laid down, an infrangible basis, an unshakeable foundation, as it were, for men throughout the world—could Christ in that case have been absent if he is, as Paul so wise declares, personally the foundation stone? 'No other foundation', he says, 'can anyone lay than that which is laid, namely Jesus Christ' Accordingly their successors the holy fathers, pastors of congregations, luminaries of churches, skilled masters of spirituality as they were, have kept the faith they set forth in a definition with a vigilance that cannot be faulted One sees no essential omitted, nothing worthwile overlooked, in the confessional statements the fathers produced dealing with correct and unadulterated faith Their aim was the refutation and rebuttal of all heresy and blasphemous nonsense on the one hand, and on the other the confirmation and security of those who tread straight the path of faith, people on whom the morning star has arisen and day dawned (as the Bible says) and in whom the grace which comes through the Holy Ghost is infusing truth's light." *ep 55* (ACO 1.-1 4 50; PG 77 289ff). See also Nacke 1964 97ff It is on the basis of this authority that Cyril writes in his *Second Letter to Nestorius*, "I, for my part, will revert to my own special task and will now remind you, as my brother in Christ, to be absolutely reliable in setting out your teaching and interpretation of the faith to lay people and to take note of the fact that causing even one of the little ones who believe in Christ to stumble brings wrath unendurable. How much more, then, if there be a vast number of people in pain, must we not need all our skill to strip away the snares and give a broad, wholesome interpretation of the faith to seekers after truth? This can be done quite straightforwardly if we review the declarations of the holy fathers, taking them with full seriousness and 'testing ourselves', as the Bible says, 'to see if we are in the faith', and thoroughly frame our own minds to agree with their orthodox and irreproachable views" *ep. 4* (ACO 1 1 1 26, 110–19, PG 77, 44D–45A)
48 In his *First Letter to Succensus* Cyril writes, "The view we take of our Saviour's dispensation is the view of the holy fathers who preceded us By reading their works we equip our mind to

follow them and to introduce no innovation into orthodoxy " *ep. 45* (ACO 1.1 6 151 l.10–13; PG 77, 229A)
For the use of Patristic evidence during the Nestorian controversy see Manoir 1935 441–461; 531–560; Nacke 1964 51ff

49 In the words of Campenhausen, "Athanasius ist fur ihn der Sprecher der Kirche schlechthin. . ." 1967 155. Prestige underlines Cyril's dependence on Athanasius by calling him 'the super-Athanasian' 1952 285.

50 On the influence of Didymus on Cyril, Jouassard writes, "Der Einfluss des Didym. auf C scheint aber ziemlich gering gewesen zu sein Vielleicht ist an die Stelle der Beeinflussung auf exegetischem Gebiet schliesslich sogar der offene Widerspruch getreten. . " 1957 502. It is conceivable that the anti-Origenism of Theophilus helped to dissociate Cyril from Didymus. On the same subject Campenhausen comments, "Daneben wird noch Didymos, ein blinder Theologe aus der zweiten Hälfte des vierten Jahrhunderts, als Laie und Origenist zwar nicht ausdrucklich genannt, aber, wie es scheint, nicht minder fleissig benutzt, und durch ihn ist Kyrill auch einiges aus der Arbeit der Kappadokier zugeflossen " 1967 155
On the question of the disputed authorship of *De Trinitate* and *Adv. Eunom. IV–V*, works formerly attributed to Didymus and allegedly used by Cyril, see Bienert 1972 10f and 16ff. The writer takes the side of those who question the view that Didymus is the author of these works but concedes that *De Trinitate* could contain elements from the writings of Didymus (p. 20). A. Heron on the other hand maintains that Didymus is the author of these works. Heron 1973 101. Durand too takes a stand for Didymus' authorship of *De Trinitate.* Durand 1976 48 Though the weight of scholarly opinion seems to be against the alleged authorship of Didymus, the whole question of the writer of these works can be considered still open

51 That Cyril's *Thesaurus* draws heavily on the *Contra Arianos* of Athanasius has been underlined by Liébaert Liébaert 1951 63ff.

52 Anastasius Sinaita, *Hodegos* 7 (PG 89 113D).

53 Kelly describes Cyril's *Anathemas* as deliberately provocative and as summarizing the Cyrilline Christology in uncompromising terms. Kelly 1968 324. Campenhausen comments on them as follows, "Die 'Anathematismen' waren so schroff und einseitig auf die völlige, im göttlichen Logos ruhende Einheit der Christusperson abgestellt, dass sie im antiochenischen Lager mit Recht als apollinarischen empfunden und allgemein abgelehnt wurden " Campenhausen 1967 160

54 Diepen 1960 49ff. See also Grillmeier 1975 488ff.

55 For the *Letter to Acacius of Melitene* see Cyril, *ep.* 40 (ACO 1.1.4 20ff ; PG 77 181ff.), for Cyril's letters to Succensus see *ep* 45 (ACO 1.1.6 151ff , PG 77 228ff.). *ep* 46 (ACO 1.1 6 157ff , PG 77 237ff.).

56 Loofs 1914 99ff

57 Liébaert 1970 48

58 Prestige describes Theophilus as 'one whose head was turned by power, an unscrupulous controversialist and an ambitious and despotic intriguer'. 1948 123 Quasten portrays Cyril's uncle as 'a sorry figure of a bishop, violent and extremely unscrupulous'. 1960 100. It is difficult to imagine that Cyril could inherit a tolerant spirit from such a relative.

59 On the background to the rivalry between the two Sees, see Prestige 1948 121ff but especially p 124 See also Neyron 1947 41ff.

60 Praechter 1916 242–249; Prestige 1948 152ff.

61 Quasten 1960 129.

62 Kerrigan 1952 385ff., Armendariz 1962 117ff., Wilken 1971 1ff.

63 Liébaert 1951 11ff ; 45ff., Wilken 1971 5; Durand 1976 18–43.

64 Grillmeier 1975 473.

65 On this subject W.H.C. Frend writes, "It did not take John, bishop of Antioch (428–41), and others very long to see that some of these Twelve Anathemas, as they came to be called, notably the second, insisting on the hypostatic union of Word and flesh, and the twelfth, which spoke of the Word suffering in the flesh, contained statements not only unscriptural but culled from the writings of Apollinarius, which had been condemned at the Second Ecumenical Council at Constantinople fifty years before Ibas, the metropolitan of Edessa (d. 458), claimed a few years later that Cyril's teaching was Apollinarian, in that it failed specifically to distinguish between the temple that Christ dwelt in (the body) and the dweller." Frend 1972 17.

66 Rehrmann 1902; Diepen 1960 13ff.; Grillmeier 1975 473ff.; see also Galtier 1956

67 Raven 1923 169; Frend 1972 121f; Grillmeier 1975 473f

68 Raven 1923 227; Frend 1972 120 ff , Grillmeier 1975 471f. Raven writes, "Apollinarius, like Cyril, applies φύσις in this sense not to the attributes but to the person, not to Godhead and manhood but to the hypostasis of the Incarnate, he never uses it of Christ in the sense given to it by the Monophysites; and though superficially his language is open to criticism it is as orthodox as Cyril's." Raven 1923 227
The extent to which Apollinaris identified the energy of the Logos with His flesh, is seen in the following passage taken from one of his writings. "The instrument (i e. the body) and that which moves it naturally constitute a single 'energy' (ἐνέργεια). If the energy is one, the οὐσία is also one So there is a single οὐσία of the Logos and His instrument " *Ad Heracleum*, Lietzmann 1904 Fr 117. Cyril is not as explicit as Apollinaris on this subject, but his presuppositions on the relationship of the divine ἐνέργεια with the flesh in the Incarnation are the same. On this issue see Chapter Three

69 ACO 1.1.3 21 1.29f

70 Raven 1923 167, Frend 1972 120.

71 Frend 1972 113 Raven maintains that Athanasius had, in his earlier years, been a forerunner of Apollinaris. Raven 1923 99 See also 181f.

72 Nordberg 1963 9, 60f

73 Weigl writes, "Seine christologischen und soteriologischen Idéen sind schon vor Ausbruch der nestorianischen Haresie im wesentlichen grundgelegt." 1905 8.

74 Liébaert writes, "La christologie de saint Cyrille d'Alexandrie telle que la révèlent ses écrits antérieurs à 428 se présent comme un système bien caractérisé et très cohérent. Il y a une christologie cyrillienne et nous croyons qu'en dépit des apparences elle n'a jamais varié dans son fond, même au cours de la controverse nestorienne " 1951 237

75 Quasten 1960 137

76 Grillmeier 1975. on Apollinaris 329ff.; on Athanasius 308ff ; on Cyril 473ff. On Cyril see also Liébaert 1951 170ff.

77 Jouassard 1956 241f.

78 Ibid 236.

79 Ibid 238.

80 Norris 1975 264ff

81 For an analysis of this work see Durand 1964 58ff. Weischer has translated this work into German from an Ethiopic Version and commented on it. See Weischer 1966 130–185.

82 M Jugie points out this fact and mentions Petau, Loofs, Rehrmann and Duchesne as examples of scholars who have discovered a lack of uniformity in Cyril's Christological terminology Jugie 1912 14ff Norris sees in Cyril a tendency to shift from one model to another in expounding on the Incarnation Norris 1975 256 This element of unpredictability is also found in Cyril's exegesis Ritter speaks of ". die Haufigkeit, freilich auch das oftmals Unbestimmte und Fliessende seines Gebrauch des Charismabegriffs." Ritter 1972 173 Cf. Kerrigan 1952 64f.

83 Prestige 1948 150–179.

84 Manoir 1944 145ff., Liébaert 1951 210ff, Jouassard 1962.

85 This is a theme which underlies *Nestorius' Second Letter to Cyril. ep 5* (ACO 1 1 1 29ff.; PG 77 49ff, Loofs 1905 173ff.). See also Grillmeier 1975 452ff.

86 Loofs 1914 32ff , Schwartz writes, "Das Motiv, das Kyrill dazu trieb, den Streit mit Nestorius zu beginnen, war nicht der dogmatische Gegensatz; Nestorius trug in seinen Predigten keine Neuerungen vor, sondern die Lehre, die Diodor von Tarsos und Theodor von Mopsuestia fast zwei Menschenalter hindurch, ohne als Ketzer verdächtigt zu werden, vertreten hatten." Schwartz 1928 3. For Campenhausen's views see 1967 156ff

87 Loofs 1914 28ff

88 Chadwick 1951 150.

89 Kelly 1968 331f

90 Liébaert 1965 119f.; Roey 1967 87f.

91 Liébaert 1965 122ff.

92 Loofs 1914 101. For the Greek citation see Evagrius *h e* 3 14, (PG 82·2, 2624B).

93 Loofs ibid. 103ff. The writings which were produced among these monks during the 'theopaschite controversy' (519–520) show that they were quite at home in Cyril's writings Altaner 1953 572ff.

94 Bindley 1950 136ff.
95 Lebon 1951 426ff. especially 431. Ebied and Wickham 1970 329f ; Frend 1972 150, 206.
96 Evans 1972 132ff , Lynch 1975
97 Altaner–Stuiber 1966 510.
98 Thunberg 1965 41ff.
99 Ibid. 47ff For the Greek see *Jo* 4 (PG 73, 577CD)
100 Cerulli 1968 26f.
101 Hammerschmidt 1967 108 See also 112ff.
102 Ridolfi 1947 19–36, but especially 21 and 32.
103 Chemnitz 1561 354ff.
104 Hardt 1971, especially 44ff. and 113ff
105 Echternach 1962 142.
106 See Cyril's *Epistle to John of Antioch ep.* 13 (ACO 1.1.1 92ff ; PG 77, 93ff.). For comments on this epistle, see Bindley 1950 138ff. and 145ff.
107 Romanides et alii 1971 3 See also Karmiris' article in *Gr Orth. Theol. Rev* 1964 61ff. but especially 73–74.
108 Chadwick 1951 147f
109 Loofs 1914 11ff. Abramowski 1963 1f
110 For an overall picture of the works of several of these scholars and their various conclusions, see Grillmeier 1975 447–472, 501–519 See also Turner 1975 306–321

CHAPTER TWO

The Word's Own Flesh

2.1 Introduction

In his *Third Letter to Nestorius* Cyril writes, "We proclaim the fleshly death of God's Only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ, we confess His return to life from the dead and His ascension into heaven when we perform in church the unbloody service, when we approach the sacramental gifts and are hallowed participants in the holy flesh and precious blood of Christ, Saviour of us all, by receiving not mere flesh (God forbid!) or flesh of a man hallowed by connection with the Word in some unity of dignity or possessing some divine indwelling, but the personal, truly vitalizing flesh of God the Word himself. As God He is by nature Life and because He has become one with His own flesh He declared it vitalizing; and so, though He tells us 'verily I say unto you, unless you eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink his blood', we must not suppose it belongs to one of us men (how could man's flesh be vitalizing by its own nature?) but that it was made the personal possession of Him who for us has become and was called 'Son of Man'."[1]

These words give a concise summary of Cyril's eucharistic doctrine and of the Christological basis for it. They also reflect a tension between two types of Christology as Cyril understood them:[2] that represented by Alexandria with its understanding of the Incarnation *primarily* in terms of a union (*ἕνωσις*) of divinity with flesh,[3] and that represented by Antioch with its understanding of the Incarnation *primarily* in terms of an indwelling (*ἐνοίκησις*) of divinity in human flesh or of a conjunction or connection (*συνάφεια*) of the divine and human natures in Christ.[4] Since Cyril himself embeds his eucharistic theology in his Christology, we shall begin our study by giving a survey of his understanding of the Incarnation. In this chapter we shall dwell on Cyril's description of Christ's flesh as His 'own' or His 'personal possession' (*ἰδία*). In the next chapter we shall take up Cyril's description of Christ's flesh as 'vivifying' or 'vitalizing' (*ζωοποιόν*).

2.2 The Incarnation—a Unique Theophany

For Cyril the Incarnation is a theophany, an appearance of the Son of God among men, in the temple of His flesh.[5] This theophany is no longer characterized by the figures, types and shadows of the time of the Law.[6] It is far more wonderful than God's revelation of His presence in the tabernacle of Israel.[7] The theopany

centres around one Person whose coming had been prefigured by the types, figures and shadows of the Old Covenant.[8] The body of this Person is not to be compared to those of the prophets whom God indwelt.[9] It is rather *united* to God in a manner which lacks precedent.[10]

Through the body of this Person, the Incarnate Word, there breaks forth from time to time the glory—the *δόξα*—of God.[11] The words of power and the miracles of Jesus are witnesses to the power of the Godhead which is hidden in the flesh of the Incarnate Word.[12] Though appearing in flesh, the Son never abandons His deity.[13] He only lets the measures of manhood prevail upon Him.[14] His appearing in the flesh is a witness to His having willingly lowered himself and taken on the form of a servant.[15] Though wrapped in swaddling clothes He still fills the entire creation.[16]

This theophany of the Word of God is not an appearance in the naked might and glory of the divinity. He did not come resplendent in light inaccessible and with a face radiating unbearable brilliance.[17] His love for man, who had become captive to the powers of death, led Him to a rescue operation which required birth from a woman.

Cyril writes, "We affirm, then, that because human nature underwent corruption as a result of the transgression in Adam and our understanding was being dominated by the pleasures, the innate impulses, of the flesh, a need arises for the Word of God to become man for the salvation of us earthly men and to make human flesh, subject to decay and infected with sensuality as it was, His own and (since He is Life and Life-giver) that He should destroy the corruption within it and curb the innate, sensual, impulses . . . Not for His own benefit has God's Only-begotten Word accomplished this (He is, indeed, ever what He is), but clearly for ours. If we have been subject to the evils following upon the sin in Adam the benefits in Christ must attend us also—I mean, incorruption and the doing to death of sin."[18]

Long before Cyril, his mentor Athanasius had described the reasons for the Incarnation of the Word in the following words, "It is from God that He came, being the Father's own Word and wisdom and power, who in these latter days took a body for the salvation of all, taught the whole world about the Father, made death of no effect, gave incorruptibility graciously to all through the promise of the resurrection, demonstrating in the sign of the cross the trophy of His victory over death and corruption."[19] For Athanasius it was ". . . our condition (which was) the motive of His descent among us, and our transgression called forth the Word's love for mankind."[20]

As far back as the days of Irenaeus the theophany of the Word among men had been expressed in a similar spirit.[21] Thus, also in regard to his understanding of the motive for the Incarnation of the Word, Cyril was a faithful heir of a well-established tradition.

2.3 Christ: 'One Out of Both' (εἷς ἐξ ἀμφοῖν)

For Cyril the Incarnation is a theophany in which two unequal and dissimilar natures[22] have gone into a union which he calls 'hypostatic',[23] 'natural or physical',[24] 'true',[25] 'inseverable'.[26]

This theophany involves a unity of Person out of a duality of components.[27] That is why Cyril often speaks of Christ as 'one out of both' (εἷς ἐξ ἀμφοῖν).[28] But there is no 'substantial duality' in Christ after the union.[29] The distinction between the natures is to be made only on the conceptual level. Thus Cyril writes, "Take a normal human being. We perceive in him two natures: one that of the soul, a second that of the body. We divide them, though, merely in thought, accepting the difference as simply residing in fine-drawn insight or mental intuition; we do not separate the natures out or attribute a capacity for radical severance to them, but see that they belong to one man so that the two are two no more and the single living being is constituted complete by the pair of them."[30]

Though the terms themselves are not employed exclusively for the Godhead, the divine aspect of this theophany is expressed through the concepts of life (ζωή),[31] glory (δόξα)[32] and power and energy (δύναμις and ἐνέργεια).[33] All of these concepts are interrelated and they are *all* attributed not only to the divine nature, but also to the human nature united to the Word. We want to underline this fact because a lot of what we are going to say in this study is based on this insight of Cyril's. It is this body, this temple of flesh assumed by the Word, and united to the Word in a union which Cyril describes as ineffable, unutterable and as 'surpassing understanding'[34]–it is this body which Cyril calls the Word's 'own temple',[35] His 'own body'[36] or His 'own flesh'.[37] Cyril teaches insistently that it is this very same body which the faithful receive in the Eucharist.[38]

2.4 Senses in Which the Term ἴδιος is Used

Before we proceed to our main task, we shall take a quick glance at the various meanings of the term ἴδιος. The adjective can mean 'one's own, peculiar, individual, personal, proper or specific'.[39] It refers to the distinctive property or character of something. This was the sense in which it was used by Aristotle. To quote H.A. Wolfson, "A term predicated of a thing as a 'property', says Aristotle, 'belongs to that thing alone' for 'no one calls anything a property which may possibly belong to someone else'. A property is therefore also said by Aristotle to distinguish the thing of which it is predicated from everything else."[40] However, Aristotle designates as 'property' not only that which belongs peculiarly to an individual, but also that which belongs to the same species.[41]

It is against this background that Philo distinguishes between the properties (ἰδιότητες) of a thing and its qualities (ποιότητες). The reason for this is that

qualities are shared by a thing in common with others whereas properties are not.[42]

Christian theology is an heir to these distinctions.[43]

There are properties which belong to all Persons in the Trinity in common.[44] Furthermore, there are properties which are affirmed of each Person or Hypostasis in the Trinity.

According to Gregory of Nazianzus, "... it is proper to the Father to be ingenerate (*ἡ ἀγεννησία*) to the Son to be generate (*ἡ γέννησις*) to the Spirit to proceed (*ἡ ἔκπεμψις*).[45]

Basil of Caesarea calls these properties 'identifying particularities' (*γνωριστικαὶ ἰδιότητες*). Later on they were called (*ἰδιότητες ὑποστατικαί*).[46] In the sixth century Leontius of Byzantium wrote, "These three Persons differ from one another in nothing save only in their 'properties' ... (*ἰδιώματα*). The Son and the Spirit differ only herein that the Son is generated from the Father, and the Spirit proceeds from Him."[47]

Cyril's use of the terms like *ἴδιος* and *οἰκεῖος* in connection with Christ's body applies neither to the Godhead strictly understood nor to what Basil calls the 'identifying particularities' of the Persons in the Trinity. Cyril's use of these terms for the body and blood of Christ is strictly tied to the Incarnation–to the unique union of God and Man exemplified by this event.[48] The term *ἴδιος* does not imply that the body is a property of the Logos considered in His divinity. Corporeality is not one of the idiomata that God has as God.[49]

Cyril speaks not only of the Word's 'own body' (*ἴδιον σῶμα*) and 'own flesh' (*ἰδία σάρξ*) but also of the Word's own nature (*ἰδία φύσις*).[50] However, in these two instances the adjective *ἴδιος* is used in radically different senses. In the first instance it is used of the Word's state in His manhood–the *ἀνθρωπότης*[51] and not, strictly speaking, of His Godhead–the *Θεότης*.[52] It is used in the context of the Economy (*οἰκονομία*),[53] and not in the context of the *Θεολογία*[54]–God's being and action considered apart from the Economy.

J. Liébaert underlines the distinction between these different senses of the term *ἴδιος* when he writes, "Comme Athanase, Cyrille emploie le mot *ἴδιος* dans une double acception: au sens de *ἴδιος φύσει* pour indiquer une appartenance naturelle, ou, en un sens affaibli, comme équivalent de *αὐτοῦ*, pour marquer une appartenance par acquisition ou par appropriation".[55] As used in this context, however the 'sens affaibli' of *ἴδιος* does not imply a weakening of the intimacy of the union of the Word and His flesh.

2.5 Basic Concerns Behind Cyril's Use of the Term *ἴδιος* for Christ's Body

There are two basic concerns behind the terminology which Cyril uses in expounding on the Incarnation. The one concern has to do with the Incarnation

itself. Cyril wants to underline the closeness, the intimacy of the union between the two natures in Christ.

His other concern arises out of his understanding of God's immutability and of the time-honoured distinctions which theology has maintained between the human and divine natures. These two concerns are interwoven into his use of the word *ἴδιος* for the body or flesh of Christ.

The body assumed by the Word, though of the seed of Abraham[56] was interlaced into[57] and united with the Word to such an extent that Cyril regards it as having become 'one nature' (*μία φύσις*)[58] with the divinity of the Logos. Nevertheless neither nature is merged with or transformed into the other.[59]

2.5.1 Not 'Two Sons'

The nature of the union in the Incarnation is such that in the Person of the Incarnate Word there is no longer a gradation into a 'first', and a 'second', a 'higher' and a 'lower', a 'weaker' and a 'stronger'. Even though the two natures have not resulted in one new nature, the two constitute one being. Consequently *all* the words of Christ in the Gospels are to be regarded as having *one* single author.[60] They are not to be distributed between Christ's human nature and His divine nature.[61]

2.5.2 Christ's Body 'Unlike' Our Bodies

For Cyril, there is a sense in which the body of the Incarnate Word, though of the seed of Abraham, is not in every respect like our bodies. It is not of the same sinful nature as an ordinary human body. In his own nature man is bereft of the properties of divinity.[62] Only in Christ has human nature been enriched by irreproachability.[63] The 'unique' character of this body which Cyril repeatedly calls the 'own' or the 'personal possession' of the Logos is tersely stated in Cyril's eleventh anathema against Nestorius: Whoever does not acknowledge the Lord's flesh to be vitalizing and to belong to the very Word of God the Father but says it belongs to somebody different joined to him by way of rank or merely possessing divine indwelling instead of being vitalizing, as we said, because it has come to belong to the Word who has power to vivify everything, shall be anathema.[64] Cyril in fact calls the body of Christ 'God's own body' and 'divine'.[65] It is probably this emphasis in Cyril's Christology which was to shape the thinking of persons like Eutychus who, before Flavian, was to say "But until today I have not said that the body of our Lord and God is of one substance with us".[66]

2.6 Concern Behind Cyril's 'Hypostatic Union'

Cyril writes that the Word, having united to Himself (*ἑνώσας ἑαυτῷ*) in His own

hypostasis (καθ' ὑπόστασιν) in an ineffable and inconceivable manner, flesh animated with a rational soul, became Man.[67] What are the concerns which lie behind this statement? Cyril himself gives us the impression that he did not feel that he had come up with a water-tight formula in this regard. The use of the expression 'hypostatic union' was a way of avoiding a doctrinal pitfall. He writes, "But if we reject this Hypostatic Union as impossible or unseemly, we fall into saying 'two Sons', and then there will be every necessity for drawing a distinction, and for speaking of the one as properly a man honoured with the title of 'Son', and again of the other as properly the Word of God, having naturally the name and possession of Sonship."[68]

The predominant tone of Cyril's theology of the Incarnation is that of a Logos who takes the initiative in everything that the Incarnate Word undergoes. He who was ἄσαρκος now appears on earth as σεσαρκώμενος. Nevertheless, it is *He* who appears, moving as it were out of eternity and continuing *His* life as Incarnate among men. It is He who existed before every aeon and is co-eternal with the Father who having united humanity to Himself hypostatically, came forth from a woman.[70]

With the Oriental bishops, Cyril had subscribed to the view that God the Word was incarnate, and lived as Man, and from the very conception united to Himself the temple which He took of Mary.[71] It is the Logos who thus *unites* to Himself the temple that He *takes* from Mary. It is He who takes the initiative; He is the doer of that which constitutes the Economy, not a passive participant or an equal partner with the human nature of the Incarnate.

Even in His state of emptying the Logos is in control of things. J. Liébaert has drawn attention to the fact that those terms which Cyril used in his writings prior to the outbreak of the Nestorian controversy to explain the nature of the union of the natures in Christ were also intended to bring out this trait of Cyril's Christology. He writes, "Il faut remarquer que ces différents termes sont généralement employés par Cyrille dans un sens actif: union, concours, rencontre, non pas du Verbe *et* de la chair, mais du Verbe *à* (πρός, εἰς) la chair: Cyrille ne place pas, comme le ferait un théologien diphysite, les deux éléments sur le même plan et ces expressions sont pratiquement chez lui une autre manière d'affirmer l'assomption de la chair."[72]

2.7 Cyril and the 'Communicatio Idiomatum'

Cyril does maintain that there is no confusion of the natures in the Incarnate Word and that the humanity has not been changed into the divine nature. Nevertheless, the Word is said to bestow upon His own flesh the glory of the God-befitting energy while on the other hand the Word appropriates the things which pertain to the flesh and attributes them, by virtue of the Economy, to His own nature.[73] Here is a clear hint at the communication of attributes from which Cyril draws far-reaching conclusions.[74]

In his *Second Letter to Nestorius* Cyril writes, "Thus we say that He both suffered and rose again, not meaning that the Word of God, in His own proper (Divine) Nature, suffered either stripes or the piercing of the nails or any other wounds at all; for the Divinity is impassible because it is also incorporeal. But when that which was made His own body suffered, He Himself is said to suffer these things for us; for the Impassible was in the suffering body."[75] Cyril makes a distinction between what the Logos undergoes in His own Divine Nature and what the Logos undergoes as Incarnate. For him the Incarnation provides a new platform on which roles are played which the natures, considered in themselves or in isolation from each other could not have played. The mutual appropriation of attributes is inherent in the Incarnation itself.[76]

One of the most important consequences of the 'communicatio' is the worship rendered to Christ. Cyril was to maintain, "Thus we acknowledge One Christ and Lord; not worshipping a man along with the Word, lest a semblance of division might secretly creep in through the use of the words 'along with', but worshipping One and the Same (Lord), because the Word's body wherein He shares the Father's throne is not alien to Himself; in this case again not meaning that there are two Sons in co-session, but One (Son) by reason of His union with His flesh."[77] The flesh of the Incarnate is therefore worshipped as an integral part, as a part totally united with the Logos who by nature is worthy of worship.[78]

2.8 Nestorius' Basic Christological Concerns

Cyril's two-fold concern for an underlining of the intimacy of the union of the natures in the Incarnation and for a maintenance of God's immutability are also shared by his opponent Nestorius.[79] He too, was concerned about setting limits for theological thought and language in such a way that basic truths about God and Man could remain unalloyed. But he argues from another angle. As H.E.W. Turner has put it, "As an Antiochene Nestorius remains firmly within the Dualist tradition of Christology. Despite his firm insistence on the unity of the Incarnate Lord there lies within it a full duality of natures, each complete in itself and, as he describes them, 'self-sustaining' ".[80]

In the words of Bindley, "The reason why Nestorius steadily refused 'the hypostatic union', was because he thought that Cyril meant by it a 'physical' union such as exists between the body and the soul, which seemed to him to subject the Divine principle to the necessities of a natural constitution. . ."[81] Nevertheless Nestorius states expressly that Christ is *One*.[82] He rejects all accusations that he teaches a merely moral or relational union and that he believes in two Sons or two Lords or two Christs.[83]

2.9 Nestorius and the 'Communicatio Idiomatum'

For Nestorius, the prosopon of union, or what he calls the common designations (words like Jesus, Christ, Only Begotten, Son, Lord) become the basis for speaking about a certain type of a mutual sharing of attributes.[84] He maintains that Scriptural texts referring to Christ are to be applied to *one* point of reference—not to the components underlying the union i.e. to the divine and human natures regarded in isolation. Only the 'prosopon of union' becomes safe ground if one is to speak of a mutual sharing of attributes. He felt that in contrast to Cyril's 'hypostatic union' his 'union in prosopon' provided for a far better scheme within which one can make affirmations of Christ without running into contradictions. For Nestorius, "The sole alternative is a union in prosopon or prosopic union (as Hodgson aptly describes it). It is the only form of union suitable for complete natures. It is a voluntary union in both its possible senses. The common prosopon is constituted by a reciprocity or mutuality of the two natural prosopa. The initiative comes from the side of God and the contrast between the Assumer and the assumed is never far from his mind. Active verbs are freely used. The divinity 'makes use' of the prosopon of the humanity and vice versa. The humiliation-exaltation rhythm is basic to the Christology of Nestorius. The term compensation (ἀντίδοσις) is used to express this double interplay. The two natures may be complete; they are not hermetically sealed from each other, otherwise no Incarnation could have taken place. In the outcome Nestorius replaces Cyril's *communicatio idiomatum* by a far more extensive *communicatio prosopon.*"[85]

2.10 Links Between Cyril's Christology and His Eucharistic Theology

We have spoken of the Incarnation as a theophany. We now need to ask ourselves: What are those aspects of Cyril's doctrine of this theophany which are relevant to our understanding of his eucharistic theology? One can answer: All aspects, all the nuances of his theology of the Incarnation are valid for and applicable to his eucharistic theology, except for the fact that the Eucharist does not involve a 'repetition' of the Incarnation in the strict sense of the term. For Cyril as well as for many Church Fathers before and after him, the eucharistic liturgy represents an unreduced, an undiminished shadow of the theology of the Incarnation. It is this fact which H. Chadwick underlines when he characterizes Cyril's understanding of every Eucharist as a reincarnation of the Logos who is there πάλιν ἐν σώματι, and whose ἰδία σάρξ is given to the communicant.[86] Scholars like Steitz[87], Michaud,[88] Mahé,[89] Struckmann[90] and Batiffol[91] have attempted to establish a basic link between Cyril's understanding of the Incarnation and his eucharistic theology, although their conclusions have been coloured by their specific points of departure. It is the realization of this basic relationship

between Christology and eucharistic theology which has led us to go into Cyril's understanding of the Incarnation in considerable detail.

What we have said of Cyril in this regard can be said of Nestorius. His 'Christological dualism' is projected also into his understanding of the Eucharist. In contrast to Cyril's understanding of the presence of Christ in the Eucharist which Turner describes as 'Monist-Metabolist' there is for Nestorius 'a full co-presence of the bread and wine and Body and Blood'. According to Nestorius the body and blood belong to the '*homo assumptus*' and not to God the Logos.[92]

Furthermore, Nestorius employs his concept of 'prosopon' which, as we have seen plays a key role in his Christology, in expounding on the Eucharist. For him the bread and wine of the eucharistic meal are the *prosopon* of the body and blood of Christ.[93]

2.11 Closing Remarks

It is very interesting to observe the terminological refuges where Cyril and Nestorius take shelter when they are pressed to specify at what point the unity between the divine and the human in the Incarnate is to be located. For Cyril this refuge is the *hypostatic union*. For Nestorius it is the *union in prosopon*. These terms have corresponding functions in the theologies of the two teachers. They are the explanations for the unexplainable. They are the frameworks, the schemes within which the unity of the Incarnate could be conceived, without prejudice to the identity of the two natures comprising this union.

Cyril's rejection of Nestorius' views rests not so much on what Nestorius understood of the divine and human natures regarded in themselves but rather in the danger that his views posed to a proper understanding of the unity in the Person of the Incarnate Word. In short, Cyril wanted to underline the fact that He who was visible, the Incarnate, the Christ, was *One* and that nothing should be said that would introduce a dichotomy into our understanding of the Incarnate. In other words, Cyril had a pedagogical intention in his teaching about the hypostatic union and the mutual sharing of attributes. His understanding of the body of Christ as the *ἴδιον* of the Logos is coloured by this fact. The body is the very own of the Logos because it has been united in a most intimate manner with the Word and not only receives the divine life of the Word, but also shares its human properties with the Logos.

Cyril repeatedly insists that by virtue of its inseverable union with the Logos, the flesh of the Incarnate Word–the very flesh which believers receive in the Eucharist is 'vivifying'. The mystery of the efficacy of the eucharistic meal rests upon the mystery of the union between the Incarnate and Exalted Word and the bread and wine of the Eucharist. In the following chapter we shall examine more closely the reasons for which Cyril calls the bread and wine in the eucharistic meal 'vivifying'.

Notes on Chapter Two

1 Cyril *ep.* 17 (ACO 1.1 1 37 1 22f.) For comments on this epistle and the section we have quoted, see Bindley 1950 116ff., especially 118f

2 For a brief but concise presentation by Cyril of the contrasts between his Christology and that of Antioch (seen through the alleged teachings of Diodore and Nestorius), see Cyril *ep* 45 (ACO 1.1.6 151ff) For more extensive studies on the Christologies of the two schools, see Sellers 1940; Kelly 1968· for Alexandrian Christology 153ff., 318ff., for Antiochene Christology 301ff.; Grillmeier 1975. on Alexandria 133ff., on Antioch 350ff.

3 We have intentionally qualified this characterization of Cyril's basic Christological terminology with the word *primarily*. There was in fact a time when Cyril, too, expounded the Incarnation in theological terminology which is usually associated with the School of Antioch For Cyril's use of *ἐνοικεῖν* and *κατοικεῖν* in connection with the Incarnation, see Manoir 1944 124f.; Liébaert 1951 200 For his use of *συνάφεια* (conjunction, connection), *συμπλοκή* (intertwining, combination) and *συνουσία* (association), see Liébaert 1951 201.

4 Nestorius, too, could speak of a *union* of the natures Driver and Hodgson 1924 154, 159, 163, 189, 196, 222–3, 295–7, 314. By Cyril's own admission those who stood in the Antiochene tradition, too, were in the habit of describing the union as 'inseparable'. But Cyril goes on to say, "The extra word 'inseparable' they add may seem to have our orthodox sense, but that is not how they intend it 'Inseparability' (*τὸ ἀδιαίρετον*), according to Nestorius' empty talk, is used in a different sense They say that the man in whom the Word has made His home is inseparable from Him in equality of honour, identity of will and authority The result is that they do not use terms in their plain sense but with a certain trickery and mischief." *ep.* 46 (ACO 1 1 6 162 1 18f.).

5 For this introductory section, see La Tour 1960 521–543, 1961 68–94. For Cyril's use of the term *ναός* (temple) in connection with the Incarnation, see *thes* (PG 75, 204C, 333A, 400D) See also *Jo* 6 (PG 73, 1009C /II 200, 5/, 1009D /II 200, 15/); *Jo* 1 (PG 73, 164A /I 142, 2–3/) For further details see Liébaert 1951 181, 200

6 *Is* 4 4 (PG 70, 1325A). Cyril teaches that Emmanuel, who is " . . Manifestation and Truth has manifested truth and abolished worship in shadows and types". *ep.* 55 (ACO 1.1 4 54 17f)

7 *ador* 10 (PG 68, 692Df); *Is.* 3.3 (PG 70, 752A). See also La Tour 1960 527.

8 Wilken 1971 69ff., especially 76f.

9 *hom pasch.* 17 (PG 77, 776Df)

10 In his *Third Letter to Nestorius* Cyril writes, "We do not say either that the Word of God has made His home in an ordinary man born of the holy Virgin lest Christ should be deemed a divinely inspired man Though the Word 'dwelt amongst us', indeed, and 'all the fulness of the Godhead' is asserted to have made its 'bodily' home in Christ, yet we recognize that 'being made flesh' is not to be defined by us as meaning a residence of the Word in Him precisely comparable with His residence in the saints. No, He was actually united with flesh, without being changed into it, and brought about the sort of residence in it which a man's soul can be said to have in relation to its body " *ep* 17 (ACO 1 1 1 36 l.6f).

11 *Is* 1.3 (PG 70, 129Bf.).

12 In his *First Letter to Succensus* Cyril writes, "Moreover, to assure those who saw Him that He was true God along with being man, He worked divine miracles, curbing seas, raising dead, accomplishing further different marvels." *ep* 45 (ACO 1.1.6 155 l.22f.).

13 To Succensus Cyril writes, "In willing to become a man He did not abandon His being God by nature, though He descended to our limited level and wore the form of a slave, even in that state He remained in the transcendent realms of Godhead and in the Lordship belonging to His nature." *ep.* 45 (ACO 1.1 6 153 l.4f.). The same thought occurs in Cyril's *On the Holy Creed*, "There is therefore one Lord Jesus Christ, personally the only-begotten Word of God, become man without departure from being what He was; for even in manhood He has remained God,

even in slave's form master, even in human self emptying possessor of full deity, even in fleshly weakness Lord of spiritual powers and even within the compass of manhood owner of transcendence over the whole creation What He was before Incarnation (He was God, true, only begotten Son, light, life and power) He maintains without loss; what He was not, He is seen to have assumed for the sake of the divine plan " *ep.* 55 (ACO 1.1 4 54 l 17f) See also Cyril's *glaph Gen* 7 (PG 69, 352Af), La Tour 1960 523f.

14 As God, the Word allows our nature to follow its own laws, but He preserves the purity of His divinity *hom. pasch.* 17 (PG 77, 776Cf.).

15 For a short but concise presentation of the κένωσις theme in Cyril's theology, see Cyril *ep.* 55 (ACO 1.1 4 53ff.) For more comprehensive treatments of this subject, Liébaert 1951 186ff.; La Tour 1960 533f; 1961 82f.; Norris 1975 259.

16 In his *Third Letter to Nestorius* Cyril writes, "He is, indeed, utterly unchangeable and immutable ever remaining, as the Bible says, the same; even when a baby seen in swaddling clothes at the bosom of the Virgin who bore Him, He still filled the whole creation as God and was co regent with His sire—for deity is measureless, sizeless and admits of no bounds." *ep.* 17 (ACO 1.1.1 35 l.22f.).

17 *Is.* 5 1 (PG 70 1169D–1172A)

18 *ep.* 45 (ACO 1 1 6 155 l.5f.). See also *ep.* 17 (ACO 1 1.1 40 l 8f.); *inc unigen* (Durand 1964 202 l.39f)

19 Athan. *inc* 32 (PG 25, 152C)

20 *inc* 4 (PG 25, 104A)

21 The heart of Irenaeus' Christology is his theory of recapitulation—a teaching which is re-echoed by a number of Alexandrian theologians Irenaeus writes, "The things which had perished possessed flesh and blood. For the Lord, taking dust from the earth moulded man, and it was upon his behalf that all the dispensations of the Lord's advent took place He had Himself, therefore flesh and blood, recapitulating in Himself not a certain other, but that original handiwork of the Father, seeking out that thing which had perished *haer.* 5, 14, 2 (PG 7, 1162AB)

22 *ep.* 40 (ACO 1.1.4 26 l.1f.) where Cyril speaks of the natures as ἀνόμοια πράγματα having been brought into an indissoluble union (ἕνωσις ἀδιάσπαστος). See also Liebaert 1951 207f.

23 On ἕνωσις καθ' ὑπόστασιν, *Nest.* 1 (ACO 1 1.6 15 l.8ff.; 24 l 29ff), 32 (ACO 1.1.6 42 l.18f.); 3 (ACO 1.1.6 71 l.22ff.), *Arcad.* (PG 76 1248D, 1265D); *Heb.* (PG 74 1004A)

24 On ἕνωσις φυσική *apol. Thdt* (ACO 1.1.6 118 l.24ff); *apol orient* (ACO 1 1.7 40 l.25ff.).

25 On ἑνότης ἀληθινή *Lc.* (PG 72, 484B); on ἑνωθεῖς κατ' ἀλήθειαν, *apol. Thdt.* (ACO 1.1.6 112 l 20ff); *Nest* 4 (ACO 1.1 6 77 l 25ff.). For further details see Manoir 1944 125.

26 Cyril uses different terms to indicate the closeness of the union of the natures in Christ Christ is said to have made His body His own according to an unbroken union *Chr. un* (Durand 336 1.15). Cyril expresses Christ's indivisibility through the words ἀμέριστος, *Glaph. Gen* (PG 69, 129C; 669A); *ador.* (PG 68, 593B), and ἀδιαίρετος, *Jo* (PG 73, 249C /I 224 23/; 577B /I 529 29/, 629C /I 577 9/). For further details see Liebaert 1951 203f

27 For an overall presentation of this subject, see Liebaert 1970 30; Norris 1975 261ff.

28 *ador.* (PG 68 345C), *glaph Lev.* (PG 69, 576B); *Jo* (PG 73, 161A /I 140 17/). For further references see Liébaert 1951 202. On Cyril's use of this phrase Norris writes, "In writing to Nestorius, however, Cyril's primary interest is to assert the indivisibility of Christ, and this interest effects certain changes in his language. For one thing, he introduces the emphatic expression εἷς ἐξ ἀμφοῖν to indicate the inseparability of the natures." Norris 1975 263.

29 *inc unigen.* (Durand 242 l.10f) Elsewhere Cyril maintains, ". . . we speak of two natures being united, but after the union, the duality has been abolished and we believe the Son's nature to be one, since He is one Son, yet become man and incarnate." *ep* 40 (ACO 1.1 4 26 l.7f.).

30 *ep* 46 (ACO 1 1.6 162 l.4f.). The same thought recurs in Cyril's *Letter to Acacius of Melitene* in which the former is defending his subscription to the *Formula of Union,* "The antiochene brethren, on the other hand, taking the recognized elements of Christ at the level only of mere ideas, have mentioned a difference of natures, because, as I have said, Godhead and manhood are not the same thing in quality of nature, yet they declare there is one Son and Christ and Lord ". *ep.* 40 (ACO 1.1.4 27 l.12f.)

31 For a study which shows Cyril's use of the concept of 'life' as an expression of the divine aspect of the Incarnation, see Struckmann 1910 53ff As is evident from this study it is in Cyril's *Commentary on the Gospel of John* that the theme of God as 'life' comes to the fore.

32 On the subject of 'power' and 'energy' as expressions of the divine aspect of the Incarnation in Cyril's Christology, see Steitz 1867 242ff; Michaud 1902 613f., 680.

33 On the theme of 'glory' as an expression of the divine aspect of the Incarnation, see La Tour 1960 521–543; 1961 68–94. The conception of the Incarnation as a filling of human nature by God's *δόξα* appears to have been a common feature of Alexandrian Christology. This conception is reflected in a primitive text of the *Liturgy of St Mark*. On this subject Lietzmann writes, "We see clearly in the primitive text of the liturgy of St Mark, in which the Greek and Coptic witnesses agree, a formula of prayer similar to Sar., and presenting only a few amplifications: principally the comment that the epiphany of Christ has filled heaven and earth with divine *δόξα*, following upon which an implied parallelism is a prayer for an indwelling of the divine *δόξα* in the elements of the Supper " Lietzmann 1954 62

34 The union of the natures is *ἀπόρρητος* (ineffable) and *ὑπὲρ νοῦν* (surpassing the mind) *inc unigen*. (Durand 226 l 18f). See also *Chr un* (Durand 388 l.25) where the union is described as being 'beyond the mind and words' The union of the natures is further described as having occurred *ἀφράστως* (inexpressibly) and *ἀπερινοήτως* (incomprehensibly). *ep.* 4 (ACO 1.1.1 26 l.27f.). For further details, see Manoir 1944 125.

35 For *ἴδιος ναός*, see *ador* (PG 68, 597D); *hom pasch* 8 (PG 77, 572A, 573B) For further references, see Liebaert 1951 200. For *οἰκεῖος ναός*, *hom pasch* 5 (PG 77, 473B); *Jo.* (PG 74, 276A /II 482, 29/) For further references, see Liebaert 1951 200

36 For Cyril's use of *ἴδιον σῶμα*, *ep.* 4 (ACO 1 1 1 27 l 17); *expl. XII cap.* (ACO 1.1.5 25 l.3); *apol orient* (ACO 1.1.7 62 l 30)

37 On *ἰδία σάρξ*, *ep.* 17 (ACO 1.1.1 36 l.4); *Arcad.* (ACO 1 1 5 98 l 20); *Thds* (ACO 1.1.1 55 l 16f). Cyril uses the adjectives *ἴδιος* and *οἰκεῖος* interchangeably. However, due to the far greater frequency with which Cyril uses the adjective *ἴδιος* we have chosen to carry out our study in this chapter around it Both Manoir 1944 134 and Liébaert 1951 197ff see the influence of Anthanasius in Cyril's use of this word.

38 Struckmann 1910 141

39 Lampe 1961 664f

40 Wolfson 1948 131

41 Wolfson 1970 338

42 Wolfson 1948 132

43 Prestige 1952 242ff.

44 Prestige 1952 1ff; 25ff; Kelly 1968 265f.

45 *or* 25 (PG 35, 1221B).

46 *ep.* 38 5 (PG 32, 336AB); *Eun* 2 29 (PG 29, 640A); *Trin.* 9 (PG 77, 1140D).

47 *sect* 1 (PG 86, 1196A).

48 Liebaert 1951 198ff.

49 Cyril devotes special attention to the heresy of 'anthropomorphism' which in a sense is a reflection of neglect of the fact that God is incorporeal In his *Letter to Tiberius the Deacon*, Cyril dismisses the contention that God and man share a common 'form' as blasphemous and illogical God's 'form' is spiritual and uncorporeal, man's quantitative and bodily The anthropomorphisms of Scripture are an accomodation to the human understanding. Ebied and Wickham 1970 435f. For a translation of the relevant text from the Syriac into English, see Ebied and Wickham 1970 447ff. For the Greek text, see *Jo.* (Pusey III, 577ff.).

50 *inc unigen* (Durand 226 l.5); *Chr un.* (Durand 482 l.12).

51 Manoir 1944 152ff; Liebaert 1951 170ff.

52 Liebaert 1951 160f.

53 Manoir 1944 157f.

54 Liebaert 1951 160f.

55 Liebaert 1951 213

56 Cyril dwells on the fact that the Word took on the seed of Abraham at some length at the beginning of his dialogue on the Incarnation where he is attacking the Docetists. *inc. unigen.* (Durand 196ff.)

57 Cyril speaks of the union of the natures as 'an ineffable interlacement' (*ἄφραστος συμπλοκή*). *inc unigen* (Durand 298 l 27).

58 For an excellent explanation of Cyril's '*μία φύσις*', see his *Second Letter to Succensus* He builds on the analogy of the relationship between body and soul. Man's single nature which is con-

stituted of these two 'natures' becomes for Cyril an apt illustration of the μία φύσις in Christ See also Jugie 1912, Manoir 1944 505ff.; Norris 1975 260f., Grillmeier 1975 473ff.

59 There are two types of assertions which Cyril returns to frequently These are his ways of guarding himself against charges of Apollinarianism In the first place he maintains that the body or flesh united to the Logos is a complete human nature—a body with a rational soul—though this human nature is no separate *Person* juxtaposed to the Logos. His second assertion is that the Incarnation did not imply a merger of two natures or a transformation of either nature into the other Both concerns are evident in the following text: "Seeing, though, that certain people are implicating us in Apollinarianism alleging that. 'If your calling the Word from God the Father who became man and incarnate "one Son" means a strict and tight union, you may well have some fanciful notion that there occurred a mixture, confusion or merging of the Word with the body or a change of the body into the nature of Godhead', we are fully conscious of rebutting this slander when we affirm that the Word from God the Father united to himself in some inscrutable and ineffable manner, a body endowed with life and reason and that he came forth, man from woman, become what we are not by change of nature but in gracious fulfilment of God's plan." *ep* 45 (ACO 1 1.6 152 1.24ff). See also *inc. unigen.* (Durand 192, 204); Cyril uses the stock 'cautionary' terms which Christology has always used to safeguard the integrity of the natures in the Incarnation He speaks of an 'ἀσύγχυτος ἕνωσις', *ep* 39 (ACO 1.1.4 17 1 15f); and employs the adverbs ἀσυγχύτως, *Jo* 11 (PG 74, 564B /III 2 12ff./) and ἀτρέπτως *Chr un* (Durand 510 1 36f.)

60 *Chr un* (Durand 446ff.); *ep* 17 (ACO 1 1.1 38 1 4f)

61 "Whoever allocates the terms contained in the Gospels and apostolic writings and applied to Christ by the saints or used of Himself by Himself, to two persons or subjects and attaches some to the man considered separately from the Word of God, some as divine to the Word of God the Father alone, shall be anathema." *ep* 17 (ACO 1.1.1 4 1.1f.). On this subject, M.F. Wiles sees a change of mind which borders on a contradiction on the part of Cyril With the *Formula of Union* in mind Wiles writes, "In the second place, Cyril seems to have adopted his fourth anathema in large measure as a purely controversial weapon At any rate, only a year later, once the elimination of Nestorius had been effectively achieved, he was prepared to sign his name to a confession of faith which comes near to a contradiction of it, to the effect that 'of the expressions of evangelists and apostles concerning the Lord, we know that theologians apply some generally as referring to one person, and discriminate others as referring to two natures; and those which are of a divine character they refer to the Godhead of Christ, and those that are lowly to his manhood' Wiles 1960 130f. Chadwick too considers Cyril's signing of this Formulary as a doctrinal surrender. Chadwick 1971 199f Cyril in fact seems to have been pushed to compromise his original position.

62 *inc unigen* (Durand 278 1.6f.).

63 *inc. unigen* (Durand 230f).

64 *ep.* 17 (ACO 1.1 1 41 1 29f).

65 *ep* 45 (ACO 1 1.6 156 1.3f.).

66 *gesta Chalced* 516 (ACO 2.1.1 142 1.13f).

67 *ep* 3 (ACO 1.1.1 26 1.25f.).

68 *ep.* 4 (ACO 1 1.1 28 1 7f.).

69 Cyril was to use the phrase 'hypostatic union' on many occasions during and after the Nestorian controversy. It has, however, been pointed out that Cyril never used the phrase ἕνωσις καθ' ὑπόστασιν before the outbreak of the controversy Chadwick 1951 146f., Richard 1945 250 Richard points out that Cyril himself admits to Theodoret of Cyrus that the phrase was an innovation, but adds that it was sometimes necessary to counter the innovation of the heretics with other innovations. Ibid. 251f See also Jugie's article where the author maintains that in all the passages in which Cyril alludes to the Christology of Nestorius and speaks of separating natures or hypostases, Cyril regards the terms φύσις, ὑπόστασις and πρόσωπον as synonymous. Jugie 1912 24. Galtier maintains that for Cyril the phrases 'hypostatic union' and 'union according to nature' (ἕνωσις κατὰ φύσιν) are synonymous and that both terms refer to a *true union* between two hypostases. Galtier 1952 387. See also Durand 1976 80ff.

70 *ep* 4 (ACO 1 1.1 27 1.9f)

71 *ep.* 39 (ACO 1.1.4 17 1.15f.)

72 Liébaert 1951 201f See also Galtier 1952 387f.

73 *inc unigen.* (Durand 278 l.9f.), *Jo.* 2 (PG 73, 249C /I 224 21–25/); *Jo.* 11 (PG 74, 513D–516A /II 696, 9–11/); *Chr un* (Durand 456f.).

74 On this subject, see Liébaert 1951 210ff., Manoir 1944 145ff. (who mentions that on this issue Cyril stands in the tradition of Origen, Athanasius, Cyril of Jerusalem and Epiphanius). See also Grillmeier 1975 146f

75 *ep* 3 (ACO 1 1 1 27 l.14f.) *Chr. un* (Durand 468ff.).

76 Liébaert 1951 213ff

77 *ep* 4 (ACO 1 1.1 28 l.3f.).

78 Cyril writes that the Only-begotten Son is venerated with His flesh in a single worship. *ep* 17 (ACO 1 1 1 37 l 6f)

79 Grillmeier 1975 457ff.

80 Turner 1975 310.

81 Bindley 1950 100.

82 Driver and Hodgson 1925 145f, 158f., 309f

83 Driver and Hodgson 1925 154, 159, 215, 222f., 225, 295ff, 300.

84 Nestorius *ep.* 5 (ACO 1.1.1 29 l.27ff.); Loofs 1905 175ff For a translation and comments on this letter, see Nau 1911 182ff.

85 Turner 1975 318; Driver and Hodgson 1925 154ff; Grillmeier 1975 454f.

86 Chadwick 1951 155

87 See Steitz 1867 235ff.

88 See Michaud 1902 599–611, 675–692

89 Mahé 1907 677ff.

90 Struckmann 1910 123f, 157f.; Batiffol 1930 460ff

91 Batiffol 1930 466ff.

92 Turner 1975 308. See also Driver and Hodgson 1925 28ff; 254f.; 327f. For texts on the Eucharist from Nestorius' writings, see Struckmann 1910 87ff

93 Driver and Hodgson 1925 55

CHAPTER THREE

The Word's Vivifying Flesh

3.1 Introduction

The Christological basis for Cyril's use of the terms *ἴδιος* and *ζωοποιός* as descriptions of the body or flesh of Christ is one and the same. This basis–the 'hypostatic union' of the divine and human natures in Christ–has been discussed in the previous chapter. In this chapter we shall attempt to spell out those aspects of Cyril's Christology in which his reasons for calling the flesh of Christ 'vivifying' are most readily accessible. We shall take up the question of the *external signs* of the divine life in the lives of the faithful at a later stage in this study. In this chapter we shall limit ourselves to the philosophical and doctrinal roots of the concept of 'vivification' as applied to the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist.

3.2 The Concepts of Will, Power and Energy as Expressions of Unity of Operation in the Godhead

The Fathers of the Church recognized that the identity of essence (*οὐσία*) and nature (*φύσις*) in the Godhead implied a unity of will (*βουλή*, *θέλημα*) power (*δύναμις*) and activity (*ἐνέργεια*).[1] God's *work* and particularly His bestowal and sustenance of life among men was described in these latter terms.

Origen teaches that the will of the Son is present in the will of the Father and that the two are united in consent, harmony and identity of purpose.[2]

Athanasius spells out the teaching that as God is One in will so is He One in operation and energy. He dwells on this theme in his epistles to Serapion in which (though his main concern is the doctrine of the Holy Spirit) this subject is treated in a Trinitarian context.[3]

The Cappadocians deduced the unity of *οὐσία* in the Godhead from the unity of divine action. *Basil of Caesarea* saw the deity of the Holy Spirit in the fact that His energy was coordinate with that of the Father and the Son.[4] For *Gregory of Nyssa* too, it is one and the same energy which passes through all the Persons of the Trinity.[5] On the subject of Gregory's understanding of the relationship between divine energy and divine life, D.L.B. Balás writes, "This Divine life, though perfectly unchangeable and eternal in the strict sense, is nevertheless conceived as an activity. God is life *ἐν ἑαυτῇ ἐνεργουμένη*. In the *De anima et resurrectione* this *ἐνέργεια* is described as that of love (*ἀγάπη*)".[6]

3.3 Use of the Concepts of Will, Power and Energy in Cyril's Trinitarian Theology

Cyril of Alexandria was very much at home in a Trinitarian theology which made use of the terms *βουλή/θέλημα*, *δύναμις* and *ἐνέργεια* in describing the unity of operation in the divine Triad. His doctrine of *ζωοποίησις* too has a clear Trinitarian basis, as we shall attempt to show in this study.

For Cyril it is the same *θέλημα* and *δύναμις* which are present in the whole divine nature.[7] In the one Godhead there is a unity of *βουλή* and *ἐνέργεια*.[8] The unity of the Father and the Son implies a unanimity of will. The Son is the *βουλή*, *σοφία* and *δύναμις* of the Father.[9] The Spirit is the sanctifying power (*δύναμις ἁγιαστική*) of the Godhead. He is also designated as 'life-giving power'.[10]

3.4 Use of the Terms *δύναμις* and *ἐνέργεια* on the Christological Level

What is of importance in this connection is the fact that, although their doctrinal presuppositions as to *who* the Logos was were not uniform, both 'orthodox' and 'non-orthodox' teachers prior to Cyril understood also the *union* of the Logos and His body as a union of divine power and energy with human flesh. Gregory Thaumaturgos, Arius, Marcellus of Ancyra, Athanasius, Eusebius of Emesa, Apollinaris and Eunomius, all made use of these terms in explaining Christ's Person and operation.[11] Furthermore, in the teachings of many of these Fathers the vivifying virtue of Christ's body as well as of the bread and wine of the eucharistic meal were often expressed in terms of divine *δύναμις* and *ἐνέργεια*.

Cyril too was very much at home in a Christology which designated the divine element in the Incarnation with these terms.[12] It is true, his usage does not display the accentuated distinction between *δύναμις* and *ἐνέργεια* which a theologian like Marcellus of Ancyra developes.[13] In fact Cyril uses these terms interchangeably. But his usage suggests that for him too, *δύναμις* conveys a more basic and comprehensive concept than *ἐνέργεια*. Often he uses the term *ἐνέργεια* as an elaboration of *δύναμις* thus faintly suggesting that for him too, *δύναμις*, as a rule, conveys 'divine potency', whereas *ἐνέργεια* conveys 'actuality', the effective power of the divinity.[14]

Cyril not only describes the Word as 'the power of God the Father' but attributes the vivifying role of the body and flesh of the Incarnate Word to His *δύναμις* and *ἐνέργεια*.[15]

In his use of these terms in connection with the Incarnation, Cyril is believed to be a follower of Athanasius and Apollinaris. Referring to the background of this aspect of Cyril's theology, Grillmeier writes: "The decisive element in the Apollinarian picture of Christ—we stress this once again because of its impor-

tance—is the vital, dynamic relationship between Logos and flesh, the constant flow of energy and of all life-giving power from the Logos to his flesh and his instrument. There is only 'one' physis in Christ because in Him there is only 'one' all animating source of life and movement, the Logos. . . . Cyril too, continues to make the bond between Logos and sarx as close as possible. As in the writings of Athanasius—and also Apollinarius—we see in Cyril's picture of Christ the divine *ἐνέργεια* of the Logos flowing directly into the body. The body of Christ is conjoined with the life itself and is therefore also itself life-giving."[16]

3.5 The Eucharist as Bearer of the Vivifying Power of the Logos

Cyril transfers his understanding of the role of divine *δύναμις* and *ἐνέργεια* from his doctrine of the Incarnation into his understanding of the vivifying virtue of the Eucharist. The Eucharist is the body of Him who is 'Life by nature', having in it the whole power of the Word who is united to it and is filled with His energy by which all things are vivified and preserved in existence.[17]

The flesh of Christ, impregnated as it was by His divine power and energy, was central to his understanding of the presence and work of Christ in the Eucharist. Cyril writes, "For it was necessary, most necessary for us to learn that the holy flesh which He had made His own was endowed with the activity of power of the Word by His having implanted power into it in a manner befitting God. Let it then take hold of us or let us take hold of it, by the mystical eulogy . . ."[18]

It is this body which is filled with the vivifying power and energy of the Logos which, in Cyril's view, Christ calls 'Spirit', in John 6:63, when He says, "It is the Spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing." For Cyril, Christ's words about the flesh being of no avail do not refer to His own flesh.[19] Cyril continues, "He fills His own body with the vivifying energy of the Spirit. For He now calls the flesh Spirit".[20] For Cyril the contrast between 'Spirit' and 'flesh' implied in John 6:63 is equivalent to the contrast between mere flesh (or the flesh of any earthly being) and the flesh united to the Logos.

In this interpretation of an important 'eucharistic' text, too, Cyril seems to echo the views of Athanasius and Apollinaris.[21]

3.6 Doctrinal Concerns Behind Cyril's Designation of the Body of Christ as Vivifying

The concepts of *δύναμις* and *ἐνέργεια* have, in the history of the development of Christian doctrine, been employed for the propagation of doctrines which the Church could not countenance.[22] Though Cyril uses these terms in describing the

vivifying operation of the body of Christ, what he says about Christ in this connection is undergirded by 'orthodox' doctrinal concerns.

His argument for calling Christ 'Life by nature' is developed in three stages. He writes, "For He is Life by Nature, in as much as He was begotten of the Living Father. His Holy Body is no less vivifying being in a manner gathered and ineffably united with the Word who vivifies all."[23]

First, Cyril states the basis for this description of Christ's body on the level of the Trinity where the Father is designated as 'Begetter' and as 'Living Father' (*ζῶν Πατήρ*).[24]

Cyril calls the Father 'life-giving root' (*ῥίζα ζωοποιός*).[25] He also uses the analogy of the Sun which is the source of brightness, for the Father who is to be regarded as the source of Life.[26]

The thought that Cyril wants to underline here is the concept of 'monarchy'—a feature of 'orthodox' Trinitarian theology. In this case Cyril uses it in connection with the concept of the Father as the source and the root of life.[27]

Cyril also developes the concept of life as a gift of the Son on the level of the relationship of the Father and the Son. The Son is begotten of the Living Father. Since His begetter is Life-giving, the Son too is Life-giving. The begetting thus becomes a causal link between the Life-giving Father and His Son—not in a temporal sense, but in an eternal, inner-Trinitarian sense.

Even though Cyril speaks of the Father as 'Begetter', as 'Root' and as 'Sun' he is cautious not to give the impression that the Son who is begotten, or grows or is radiated out of the Father is of another nature than the Father. Both Father and Son are designated 'Life by nature'. It is the same nature and the same life that they share.

Cyril is careful to underline this point and to reject the view that the Word is vivified by the Father only by a participation (*μέθεξις*) which is from outside (*ἔξωθεν*) and adventitious (*εἰσκεκριμένος*).[28] The analogy of the Sun and its brightness serve Cyril to clarify the relationship between the Father's role as Life-giver and the Son's role as Life-giver. His argument is that, though it owes its origin to the Sun, the Sun's brightness is not to be regarded as a shining by participation, but rather by a 'natural' relationship with the Sun. In the same way, the Son's reception of life from the Father is not to be regarded as an impartation of life from without—as is the case with creatures—but rather as a witness to the Son's 'noble birth from the Father' (*ἐκ Πατρὸς εὐγένεια*).[29]

It is this point which Cyril underlines when he comments on John 6:57 as follows, ". . . He who receives me in himself by the participation of my flesh shall live, being wholly remodelled into me, who am able to give life, because I am from a life-giving root, that is God the Father".[30]

Finally, Cyril derives the life-giving virtue of the body of Christ from the union of divine *δύναμις* and *ἐνέργεια* with flesh—as we have attempted to show earlier.

3.7 Philosophical and Theological Background to Cyril's Use of the Word 'Vivifying' for the Body of Christ

3.7.1 Philosophical Background

In his understanding of God the Father as the Source of life and of the body and the blood of Christ as 'vivifying', Cyril stands in a long philosophical and theological tradition which was common not only to Christian theologians in Alexandria but also to theologians in other parts of Christendom.[31]

The concept of 'life' as the highest good of created beings and the presupposition that 'Deity' is the provider and sustainer of life has been a central feature of the Hellenistic and Judeo-Christian traditions.[32]

In Plato's philosophy, both the lower gods and the highest Deity are said to be living, although life is attributed to them in different senses. The lower gods are said to be immortal in a time-bound sense. The highest Deity is immortal in a timeless sense. For Plato the concepts of soul (*ψυχή*) and life are essentially related to each other. The cosmos is a *ζῷον ἔμψυχον*. Movement, life, soul and purpose are attributed to the *παντελῶς ὄν* (absolute being).[33]

For Aristotle the Deity is, in contrast to the cosmos, 'pure mind' (*νοῦς*). The energy (*ἐνέργεια*) of the *νοῦς* is life (*ζωή*). The *ἐνέργεια* of the divine *νοῦς* is the most excellent and the eternal life.[34]

The Stoics regarded the entire cosmos as a physical-psychical organism. For them the difference between those living things which have souls and those which would, as a rule, be designated as 'inanimate' (e.g. stones, wood) is a relative one.

The authentic life is not merely the natural life but that which is lived in conformity to its *τέλος* and *σωτηρία*. The expression 'life by nature' (*ζωὴ κατὰ φύσιν*), whose usage in the realm of Christology we have already referred to, was in use among the Stoics—though its content differs from that which Christian theologians put into the phrase.[35]

For Plotinus, life is essentially related to the soul which permeates the entire cosmos and divides itself into the individual souls which inhabit bodies. For him, life in its essential, true and perfect sense is to be found in the intellectual nature. God, who is simple, single and pure, is the cause and source of life.[36]

The Gnostics regarded life as the unique attribute of Deity. This life was regarded as a property residing in God, but it was also understood as a mystical fluid which emanated from the Deity and made its presence felt in created beings. Life was mediated not by the *ψυχή* but by the *πνεῦμα*, the divine breath. Among the Gnostics it was very common to speak of life as divine power (*δύναμις*) and light (*φῶς*).[37]

3.7.2 Biblical Background

The Old Testament abounds in texts which show that God is the source of life.[38]

Man received life from God at creation through God's life-giving Spirit (Gen. 2:7). The characteristics of God's Life are reflected in those gifts which were granted to man along with God's image. Thus concepts like Reason, Freedom, Dominion, Holiness, Incorruptibility are all reflections of what God is in Himself and consequently of those qualities which must characterize His Life in a limitless and incomprehensible sense.

Israel regarded God as the sustainer of all living beings (Ps. 145:15). It is therefore no wonder that the understanding of God as 'Life' and as bestower of life played a central role in the philosophy of the Hellenistic Jew, Philo, who was to influence many generations of Christian theologians in Alexandria.[39]

From the very conception of the Christian community, the followers of Christ have regarded their Master as 'Life' and as Giver of life.[40] The Apostle Paul, who likens Christ to the 'last Adam' also calls the Risen Christ 'life-giving Spirit' (I Cor. 15:45).[41]

3.7.3 Patristic Background

For the Fathers of the School of Alexandria 'life' was a key attribute of divinity. For Origen Christ is *αὐτοζωή*. The Father who is the source of life (*πηγὴ ζωῆς*) is however superior to the Son.[42] Both Athanasius and Theophilus use the term *αὐτοζωή* for the Son.[43]

Basil of Caesarea taught that all three Persons in the Trinity possessed life in an essential and underived sense.[44] This emphasis is also evident in Gregory of Nyssa for whom God is not only the source of life, but Life itself, real Life, the true and only Life.[45]

3.8 Cyril's Preoccupation with Divine, Supernatural Life

Among Alexandrian theologians Cyril is definitely the one who uses the concept of life (*ζωή*) as the divine, supernatural life and the verb *ζωοποιεῖν* most frequently in connection with the doctrine of the Incarnation.[46]

For Cyril, Christ is the Giver of life not only on the purely natural and physical level but also on the supernatural level. In his longest single work—*The Commentary on the Gospel of John*—Cyril strongly underlines this supernatural aspect of 'Life' which for him is mediated through the sacraments of both Baptism and the Eucharist, but whose realization is tied in a special sense to the Eucharist. It is through the Eucharist that incorruptibility is granted to mortal man.[47]

3.9 Designations for the Eucharist Which Build on the Concept of Life

The terms 'vivifying' and 'of life', are used with almost all of Cyril's designations for the Eucharist. Thus we have the expressions 'life-giving flesh' (*σὰρξ ζωοποιός*);[48] or the 'flesh of life' (*ἡ σὰρξ τῆς ζωῆς*).[49] These are by far the two most common combinations of the words *σάρξ* and *ζωή* on which Cyril builds designations for the Eucharist. The former (*σάρξ ζωοποιός*) is used much more frequently than the latter.

Cyril also uses the expression *ζωοποιόν σῶμα*[50] and *σῶμα ζωῆς*[51] or *σῶμα τῆς ζωῆς*.[52] Designations of the Eucharist which build on these combinations are far fewer than the *σάρξ-ζωή* combinations mentioned above. Cyril uses *σῶμα* and *σάρξ* interchangeably in other contexts.

A very common designation for the Eucharist, the one which we have chosen as the title of our present work, builds on a combination of the terms 'thanksgiving', 'blessing' (*εὐλογία*) and the term 'vivifying' (*ζωοποιός*). For Cyril the Eucharist is 'vivifying blessing' (*εὐλογία ζωοποιός*).[53]

Cyril also uses the term 'vivifying' with a set of designations which bring out the character of the Eucharist as 'sacrifice'. He speaks of the Eucharist as a 'vivifying sacrifice' (*θυσία ζωοποιός*) and as a 'vivifying bringing of gifts' (*ζωοποιός δωροφορία*).[54] Furthermore Cyril speaks of the Eucharist as 'vivifying seed' (*σπέρμα ζωοποιόν*).[55]

The Christological basis for Cyril's use of the attribute 'vivifying' for Christ's body comes to the fore in designations like 'the body of Him who is Life by nature' (*σῶμα τῆς κατὰ φύσιν ζωῆς*).[56]

3.10 Analogies from the Physical World as Illustrations of the Vivifying Power of Christ's Body

Cyril seeks to give his reader an insight into the manner in which the vivifying body and blood of the Incarnate Word operates in the lives of those who participate in the Eucharist through various analogies taken from the physical world.

One of these is the *analogy of the relationship between fire and water*. Cyril uses this analogy in connection with the interpretation of John 6:54 "Whoso eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood hath eternal life and I will raise him up at the last day". He reasons as follows: "Water is by nature cold, but when it is poured into a kettle and associated with fire it all but forgets its nature and goes into the energy of the victor. We too, in the same manner, even though we are corruptible because of the nature of the flesh, nevertheless leave our weakness and are transformed into life by being mixed with the true life."[57]

Another is the *analogy of a spark which is buried in chaff in order to preserve the 'seed' of fire*. Through His own body, Christ hides the Eucharist in the believer like some seed of immortality which destroys all corruptibility.[58]

Cyril also uses the *analogy of a piece of bread which is dropped into wine or oil with the result that it is soaked to the point of saturation*, to illustrate the effect of the life-giving power of the Eucharist in the life of the believer.[59] Furthermore he employs the *analogy of the relationship between iron and fire* for the same purpose. Though iron is only iron of its own nature, it can be filled with the energy of fire when it is associated with fire.[60]

3.11 Closing Remarks

The analogies cited thus far give only hints as to what the life-giving body of Christ in the Eucharist initiates in the lives of the faithful. In all of these analogies the origin of the power, of the energy, of incorruptibility, of immortality is the divine nature. The human nature is always at the receiving end. The analogies of water and fire, heat and metal, and of the piece of bread submerged in wine or oil point to a unity, a solidarity established between disparate substances by virtue of what the divine nature bestows on the human nature. The human nature remains a receiver, and is, by the very fact of receiving raised to a level of participation in the divine nature which it, in its own nature, and lacking the initiative of the divine nature, would never have attained to. It is this participation in the divine nature which Cyril regards as 'life' in the deepest and most genuine sense of the term. The body of Christ, as well as the bread and wine of the eucharistic meal are bearers of this divine life, because they are united with the Word who is 'Life by nature'. The faithful become participants in this divine life through their reception of the Eucharist.

Cyril's designation of the flesh of the Incarnate Word as 'the flesh of Him who is Life by nature' reflects his conviction that fallen man can be revivified only through a humanity united to 'Life' at its very source. It is only in the Incarnation of the Word that such a union has taken place. In the next chapter we shall see how the vivifying work of divine *δύναμις* and *ἐνέργεια* is set in motion in the consecration of the bread and wine of the eucharistic meal.

Notes on Chapter Three

1 On the use of the concept of *δύναμις* in the field of Patristics, see Lampe 1961 389f and Fascher 1959 442ff., 453ff. On the use of *ἐνέργεια* among the Greek Fathers, see Fascher 1962 23ff. On its use in connection with Cyril's eucharistic theology, ibid. 44 See also Prestige 1952 70f., 106, 257ff; Kelly 1968 258f, 266.

2 Or *Jo* 13, 36 (PG 14, 461A), *Cels* 8, 12 (PG 11, 1533C).

3 Ath *ep Serap.* 1, 31 (PG 26, 600–605); 3,5 (PG 26, 633AB). See also 1, 19 (PG 26, 573–576) and 1, 30 (PG 26, 597–600).

4 Bas *ep* 38, 4 (PG 32, 329–333)

5 Gr. Nyss *tres dii* (PG 45, 125).

6 Balas 1966 84. See also Gr. Nyss. *Eun.* 2 (PG 45, 933B); *Eun.* 1 (PG 45, 1033C); *anim. et res.* (PG 46, 96C–97A). Gregory calls God *αὐτοδύναμις*. *hex.* (PG 44, 72C); *or catech.* 8, 17 (PG 45, 40A).

7 *Jo.* 10 (PG 74, 333D–336A). See also *thes* 34 (PG 75, 604AB)

8 *Jo* 4 (PG 73, 556C), *Nest* 4 (ACO 1.1.6 77 l.2ff.)

9 *Nest* 4 (ACO 1.1.6 80 l.8ff.).

10 *thes.* 34 (PG 75, 597A–D); *thes.* 33 (PG 75, 580A–C)

11 For brief surveys of the use of the terms *δύναμις* and *ἐνέργεια* in the Christologies of these teachers, consult Grillmeier 1975, on the basis of references to these terms given in the index.

12 *Jo* 3, (PG 73, 501B) *Ad dominas* (ACO 1.1.5 91 l.39f).

13 Marcellus distinguishes between but does not separate the Word's existence as *δύναμις*—as potency or as power which rests in God—and the Word's existence as 'active energy' (*ἐνέργεια δραστική*) operative in creation and the Incarnation Zahn 1867 123ff.; Tetz 1973 96f and 110f On the purpose of this distinction in the Christology of Marcellus, Tetz writes, "Die Unterscheidung der beiden Aspekte *δυνάμει* und *ἐνεργείᾳ* dient bei Markell der Sicherung der Identitat des Logos gegenuber einer arianischen Zwei-Logos-Lehre sowie der Sicherung der monotheistischen Lehre von der einen gottlichen Hypostase gegenuber arianischen Versuchen, den Logos—wie hier in der Ekthesis makrostichos als *καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὑπάρχοντα*—zu isolieren." Tetz 1973 111.

14 The term which appears with greater frequency in Cyril's writings on the Eucharist is *δύναμις* That Cyril tends to use (*ἐνέργεια*) as an elaboration of *δύναμις* is suggested by expressions like 'the energy of the power of the Logos'. *Lc* 4: 38 (PG 72, 552C).
In the consecration of the bread and wine in the eucharistic meal, it is divine *δύναμις* which is infused into the elements and which converts them into the *energy* of the Word's Flesh. *fr Mt* 26·26 (PG 72, 452D–453A), *Lc.* 22.19 (PG 72, 912A).

15 In comparing the soteriologies of Cyril and Chrysostom as representatives of the Schools of Alexandria and Antioch, Frances M. Young underlines the prominent role that *divine power* plays in Cyril's understanding of the Incarnation. He writes, "Both consistently attribute salvation to the love and goodness of God, but one concentrates on the invincible activity of divine power, the injection of divinity into humanity, and the other on the exemplary power of human suffering and the achievement of a human victory over sin" Young 1969 156.
Cyril's understanding of vivification (*ζωοποίησις*) in and through Christ is clearly stated in the following words "In no other way was it possible that flesh should become vivifying, being of its own nature subjected to the necessity of decaying, unless it became the own flesh of the Word who vivifies all things. It is thus that it effects that which is His, being pregnant with His vivifying power (*τὴν ζωοποιὸν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν ὠδινήσασα*) " *Chr.un* (Durand 1964 510 l 26ff.) A few lines later Cyril repeats the same thought in the context of his understanding of the Incarnation as a 'union' as he writes, "How does not the Word, being God, rather put His own vivifying *power* and *energy* into His own flesh—the flesh to which it is united, which He has made His own, without confusion and change, and in a manner which He knows?" *Chr. un* (Durand

1964 510 l 34ff). It is the *δύναμις* of the Holy flesh which renders those in whom it dwells *συσσώμους*, in the same manner as the one and only Spirit of the indivisible God, dwelling in the faithful, conducts them ineluctably to a spiritual unity. *Jo* 11 (PG 74, 557–561). See also ibid 528 A–C, *Jo.* 4 (PG 73, 584Bff.). Cyril teaches that in the Eucharist the faithful receive the vivifying and sanctifying *power* of Christ. *fr Mt.* 26·27 (PG 72, 452CD).

16 Grillmeier 1975 474, 476. The Cappadocian Fathers use the attribute *ζωοποιός* frequently. However, among them it seems to be a description of the Holy Spirit much more often than a description of the Son See Lampe 1961 598. The attribute *ζωοποιός* is also very widely used in the writings of Apollinaris of Laodicea—both as a description of the Son and the Holy Spirit In contrast to the Cappadocians however, Apollinaris seems to employ the word primarily with Christ and particularly with Christ's flesh, which has become life-giving because it has become one *ουσία*, one *φύσις* and one energy with the Logos. *De fide et incarn.* 6,7 (Lietzmann 1904 197–199). See also *Fr.* 116, 117 (Lietzmann 1904 235–236) *Anacephalaeosis* (Lietzmann 1904 242–246).

As we have already pointed out Cyril is known to have used writings which circulated under 'orthodox' names, though they were authored by Apollinaris It is difficult to know to what extent Cyril's understanding of *ζωοποίησις* was directly moulded by reading of Apollinarian works. That there is a close similarity between the views of the two teachers on the subject of the vivifying power of the body of Christ cannot be gainsaid.

17 *Jo* 3, 6 (Pusey I 475 l.25ff); *ep Calos* (PG 76, 1073A–1076A /III 605 l.22ff /).

18 *Lc* 4.38 (PG 72, 552C).

19 *Jo.* 4, 3 (Pusey I 552 l.23f)

20 Ibid

21 See Ath. *ep. Serap.* 19 (PG 26, 665) Leontius of Byzantium quotes Apollinaris in *Apoll.* (PG 86, 1964BC) as giving an interpretation along the same lines

22 The history of Christian doctrine knows of many theological currents which tended to make the Son and the Spirit impersonal functions of the Supreme God or supramundane beings subordinated to God and used by Him as mediums of His operation The Gnostic Cerinthus used the term *δύναμις* not only of the Supreme God but also of the two supramundane beings who were His 'instruments' Wolfson 1970 506ff. Christ was also conceived of as one of the *δυνάμεις* which emanated from God Wolfson 1970 532ff. See also Grillmeier 1975 98ff.

23 *Jo* 4 (PG 73, 577B). We find a similar argument in three stages in Cyr. *or. ad Augustas* (ACO 1.1 5 59 l 11ff)

24 *Jo.* 4 (PG 73, 577B).

25 *Jo* 4,3 (Pusey I 538 l.6)

26 *Nest.* 4, 5 (ACO 1.1.6 85 l.17ff.).

27 Durand 1976 60ff ; Prestige 1952 94ff.; 254ff.

28 *Nest* 4, 5 (ACO 1 1 6 85 l 19ff.).

29 Ibid l 23f

30 *Jo.* 4,3 (Pusey I 538 l.3ff.).

31 Lampe 1961 594ff.

32 On the subject of 'life' as a divine attribute in Greek philosophy, see Bultmann 1935 853ff.; on 'life' as expounded in the Scriptures, see Mussner 1961 853ff. For the section immediately following, the writer acknowledges his indebtedness to D.L Balas.

33 *Tim.* 30B; ibid. 38Cff., *Soph.* 248Eff.; Bultmann 1935 833

34 *Metaph* XI 7 1072B; Bultmann 1935 834f.

35 Bultmann 1935 838f As Burghardt has pointed out, Cyril can at times use language which is reminiscent of the *λόγος σπερματικός* of the Stoics. Burghardt 1957 88 According to Cyril, the Logos ". . bestows being, life and movement on existing beings in varied ways. It is not that He spreads Himself among all the naturally different creatures by some sort of division and alteration, rather creation in its own self is diversified by the inexpressible power and wisdom of its Maker All things have the One life, which comes to each as befits it and according to its capacity to participate . . " *Jo.* 16 (Pusey I, 75 l 5ff.) But Cyril's views in this respect are thoroughly Christianized His understanding of the Logos had nothing of the materialism of the Stoics

36 *Enn* I 6, 6–7, Bultmann 1935 839

37 Bultmann 1935 849ff.

38 Mussner 1961 853f , Bultmann 1935 844ff

39 Arnaldez 1967 291; Philo, *De Op. Mundi* XXIf.; *Questions on Genesis* I, 4.
40 Jn 14:6; Jn 11:25. See also Mussner 1961 855f.
41 For an exegetical analysis of this designation, see Hermann 1961 61ff For a very brief exegetical study which cites the views of Theodoret of Cyrus, the Cappadocian Fathers and Theodore of Mopsuestia, eee Trummer 1970 97ff.
42 Or. *Mt* 12, 9 (GCS X, 83 Klostermann) See also Gruber 1962 103ff., 122ff.
43 Ath. *gent* 47 (PG 25, 93C); on Theophilus *hom. div.* 10 (PG 77, 1017D)
44 Bas. *Eun.* 2, 27 (PG 29, 636A); *Eun* 1, 18 (PG 29, 552C); *Eun.* 2, 13 (PG 29, 596C); *De Sp S* 9 (PG 32, 108B)
45 Gr. Nyss *Eun* 8 (PG 45, 797A); *Eun.* 5 (PG 45, 705C), *Eun.* 2 (PG 45, 545B).
46 A quick glance through *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Lampe 1961 598f) can verify this statement
47 For a short but thorough study of the theme of incorruptibility in Cyril's *Commentary on the Gospel of John*, see Langevin 1956 295ff In this study Langevin underlines the special role which the Eucharist plays in Cyril's understanding of the granting of incorruptibility.
48 *Jo.* 4, 2 (Pusey I 530 l.4).
49 *Jo.* 10, 2 (Pusey II 543 l.10). See also *Chr un.* (PG 75, 1360A–D /Pusey 7 421 l 10f./)
50 *ep.* 55 (ACO 1.1.4 60 l.9f); *apol. Thdt* (PG 76, 448B).
51 *apol orient.* (Pusey 7, 362 l 1f.).
52 *Lc* 22 23 (PG 72, 912A) See also *ep* 55 (ACO 1 1.4 60 l.5f.)
53 *fr. Mt.* 26·27 (PG 72, 452C), *Lc* 22.19 (PG 72, 908B); *Jo.* 4, 2 (Pusey I 530 l 26f.), *ador* 7 (PG 68, 501B).
54 *expl xii cap.* (Pusey 6 257 l 1f); *Lc.* 22·19 (PG 72, 908).
55 *Lc.* 22·23 (PG 72, 912A).
56 *ep.* 55 (ACO 1 1.4 60 l 10f.), *Jo.* 4 (PG 73, 601D).
57 *Jo* 4, 2 (Pusey I 531 l 9ff.).
58 See note 54 above
59 *Lc.* 22 19 (PG 72, 909B).
60 Ibid.

CHAPTER FOUR

Bread and Wine as Bearers of Vivifying Power and Energy

4.1 Introduction

We have thus far dealt with the doctrinal basis for Cyril's eucharistic theology. We shall now move on to a consideration of Cyril's understanding of the vivifying presence of the body and blood of Christ in the context of worship. The wider context for our inquiry will be the eucharistic liturgy of Cyril's day.[1] Nevertheless, we do not intend to go into a detailed study of this liturgy. Our attention will be directed to what we believe to be references to the *epiclesis* in Cyril's writings, particularly in view of the fact that the concepts of *δύναμις* and *ἐνέργεια* are employed by Cyril to describe the presence of Christ in the consecrated elements. On a secondary level, we shall try to show what stage in the evolution of the liturgies of Egypt some of Cyril's occasional comments on the liturgy may possibly reflect.[2]

4.2 Cyril's Interpretations of Matthew's and Luke's Narratives of the Institution of the Lord's Supper

Commenting on Matthew 26:26 Cyril writes, "The Lord gives thanks, taking the cup, that is to say, He converses with God the Father in the form of a prayer, being a partner (of the Father) and showing Himself a co-approver of the life-giving blessing which was to be given to us. At the same time giving us a pattern (*ἡμῖν τύπον διδοὺς*), He first gives thanks and then breaks the bread and distributes it. Therefore we too, placing the aforementioned in the sight of God, pray earnestly that they may be remodelled for us into a spiritual blessing. . ." (*διὸ καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἀπ' ὄψεσι Θεοῦ τὰ προειρημένα τιθέντες, δεόμεθα ἐκτενῶς εἰς εὐλογίαν ἡμῖν μεταπλασθῆναι τὴν πνευματικὴν . . .*)[3]

Except for the omission of the words 'taking the cup', the opening section of Cyril's commentary on Luke 22:19ff. is identical to what we have quoted above. The commentary on the Lukan narrative continues as follows, ". . . for every grace and every perfect gift comes to us from the Father by the Son in the Holy Spirit. And this then was a pattern for our use of the prayer which ought to be offered whenever the grace of the mystical and life-giving bringing of gifts[4] is

about to be spread before Him by us. And we are accustomed to doing this. (*τύπος δὲ ἦν ἄρα τὸ δρώμενον εἰς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς, τῆς ὀφειλούσης προσανατείνεσθαι λιτῆς, εἰ μέλλοι προτίθεσθαι παρ' ἡμῶν τῆς μυστικῆς καὶ ζωοποιοῦ δωροφορίας ἡ χάρις, ὅ δὴ καὶ δρᾶν εἰθίσμεθα.*) For first offering up our thanksgiving and joining in our praises unto God the Father, both the Son and the Holy Ghost, we draw near to the holy tables."[5]

Since Cyril is commenting on the synoptic narratives of the Words of Institution, the pattern (*τύπος*) which Christ is said to have given to his disciples must be a reference to a part of the eucharistic liturgy which lies in the immediate vicinity of the recitation of the Words of Institution. Furthermore, the fact that in the Matthew commentary Cyril speaks of an earnest prayer requesting the remodelling of the gifts placed in the sight of God, as well as the mention of 'a prayer which ought to be offered' in the Luke commentary, lead us to suppose that Cyril is thinking of a consecratory prayer in immediate connection with the Words of Institution. Thus it would appear to us to be reasonable to assume that Cyril knew of an epiclesis immediately following the Words of Institution.[6] Since liturgical scholars are now unanimous in maintaining that such an epiclesis in the Egyptian anaphoras is a *second* epiclesis,[7] it is also reasonable to assume that, already by Cyril's time, the main liturgy of the Church of Alexandria had two epicleses.[8]

If this is indeed true, then it would be reasonable to maintain that the Greek version of the *Anaphora of St Mark* (which in its Coptic-Bohairic version bears Cyril's name) had, already by Cyril's time, been subjected to Syrian influence.[9]

That the liturgies of Egypt originally had only *one* epiclesis prior to the Words of Institution has been deduced from the testimonies of the *P. Dêr-Balizeh*,[10] the *P. Copt. Lovan. 27*[11] and the *P. Barc.*[12] Ever since the days of Dom P. de Puniet, who was the first to publish fragments of the famous Papyrus of Dêr Balizeh,[13] discovered in 1907 by Flinders Petrie in the ruins of a monastery in Upper Egypt, a succession of liturgical scholars have spoken for *one* long epiclesis prior to the *anamnesis* and the Words of Institution. Among the earlier propounders of this view one can mention H. Lietzmann,[14] A. Baumstark,[15] C.H. Roberts and Dom B. Capelle.[16] More recently H. van Haelst[17] and R.-G. Coquin[18] have underlined the same point of view. One of the few scholars to contest the view that there was a time when there was only one epiclesis in the liturgies of Egypt is S. Salaville.[19]

Coming back to Cyril, it would seem to us that the practice of the invocation of the Holy Spirit on the elements of bread and wine, a phenomenon which gained ascendancy in oriental eucharistic liturgies particularly after the middle of the fourth century,[20] was an established feature of the liturgies of Egypt by Cyril's time—even though the question of the number and location of these epicleses in the anaphoras of Egypt has been debated.[21] Furthermore, this Spirit-epiclesis of Cyril's day would appear to correspond to the long epicleses in the present *Anaphora of St Mark* and its Coptic-Bohairic version.

Certain terms and expressions in Cyril's occasional references to the liturgy seem to support our view. The word *δεόμεθα* used by Cyril in his commentary to

the Mattheian narrative of the Institution serves the same purpose it does in the long epiclesis in the *Anaphora of St. Mark* as reflected in the *P. Ryl.* 3.465, the Greek-Melkite manuscripts and the Bohairic version, all of which have been simultaneously analyzed by R.-G. Coquin.[22]

Furthermore, the words τὰ προκείμενα which in the *P. Ryl.* 3.465 of the *Anaphora of St Mark* is a description of the gifts on which the Spirit is invoked in the long epiclesis, and which appear in Coquin's reconstruction of the primitive text of the epiclesis in this Anaphora,[23] appear in Cyril's commentaries to the Words of Institution in both Matthew and Mark. God is said to send in the power of life into the things set forth (. . . ἐνίησι τοῖς προκειμένοις δύναμιν ζωῆς . . .).[24]

Nevertheless, there is an indication that at one point the formulation of the epiclesis as Cyril knew it was spelled out in more detail than the epiclesis of the *P. Ryl.* 3.465 and of the text of the epiclesis of St Mark as reconstructed by Coquin. In his *Letter to Tiberias the Deacon*, Cyril writes, "But we believe that the bringing of gifts celebrated in the churches are hallowed blessed and perfected by Christ. (. . . τὰς ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις δωροφορίας ἁγιάζεσθαι πιστεύομεν καὶ εὐλογεῖσθαι καὶ τελειοῦσθαι παρὰ Χριστοῦ)."[25]

Although, interestingly enough, Christ and not the Spirit is named as the consecrator or as the agent of the conversion of the elements, it appears that the three verbs 'sanctified, blessed and perfected' are taken from an epiclesis of consecration in a liturgy of Cyril's day. The long epiclesis in the Greek-Melkite manuscripts and the Coptic-Bohairic versions of the *Anaphora of St Mark* analyzed by Coquin, contain the verbs ἁγιάζειν and τελεῖν.[26] Coquin has further pointed out that the *Vaticanus gr. 2281* (designated with the letter V) and one of the manuscripts of the *Anaphora of St Mark* preserved at the library of the Greek Patriarchate of Alexandria, which bears the number classification 173/36, also use the verb εὐλογεῖν.[27] Thus it appears that already in Cyril's time the Alexandrian liturgy had a long epiclesis in which all three verbs ἁγιάζειν, εὐλογεῖν and τελεῖν were used.

4.3 Cyril's Interpretation of the Epiclesis: Spirit- or Logos-oriented?

If, as seems most probable, the Spirit-epiclesis was an established feature of the liturgy of Cyril's day, it is all the more surprising that we do not find more explicit references to this epiclesis and its implications in the widely scattered references to the liturgy in the writings of Cyril. This seems to suggest, as we shall try to show, that Cyril projects his Logos-dominated understanding of the Incarnation upon the words of consecration of the eucharistic liturgy.

Gregory Dix has pointed out that liturgical prayers for the 'advent' of the Word in the eucharistic liturgy, parallel to His 'advent' in the Incarnation were not an ex-

clusive characteristic of the liturgies of Egypt. He writes, "The same idea is found in a number of Ethiopic rites which are of Egyptian connection, if not actual origin. Outside Egypt St Jerome in Syria sixty years later speaks of bishops as those who 'at the Eucharist pray for the advent of the Lord', and similar language is used in Asia Minor in the fourth century, and later still in Italy, Gaul and Spain. This introduction of a prayer for 'the coming of the Lord', the Son, the Second Person of the Trinity, is a straightforward conception, which only makes explicit the ideas originally involved in the reference to the Incarnation and in the institution narrative in earlier versions of the prayer."[28]

4.4 Emergence of Two Related Concepts on the Consecration

With the growing accentuation of the role of the Spirit in the Incarnation and the eucharistic liturgy, two theological currents make themselves evident in the understanding of the consecration of the elements. One current had as its point of departure the Christological emphasis that it was the Logos who took the initiative in the Incarnation and united flesh to Himself. He is the active agent in the Incarnation. This line of thought was to influence the interpretation of the consecration of the elements in the liturgy. The other theological current, particularly evident in the Syrian group of liturgies, is represented by the Spirit-epiclesis.

4.5 Dominace of the Logos in the Eucharistic Theology of the Alexandrians

Even though, already beginning with Athanasius, Alexandrian theologians were to underline the role of the Person and work of the Holy Spirit in their understanding of the Incarnation, the dominance of the Logos in their Christology continues to make itself felt, not least in their understanding of the significance of the consecration of the bread and wine in the eucharistic liturgy. In a sermon to the baptized ascribed to Athanasius we read, "Let us come to the consecration of the mysteries. This bread and this cup so long as the prayers and supplications are not yet made, are bare elements. But when the great prayers and the holy supplications are sent up to God, the Word descends upon the bread and the cup and they become His body."[29]

A prayer in *Serapion's Anaphora* reads, "O God of truth, let Thy Holy Word come upon this bread that the bread may become the body of the Word, and upon this cup that the cup may become the blood of truth."[30]

After the middle of the fourth century this emphasis appears side by side with the understanding of the Spirit-epiclesis as the liturgical focus of the actualization of the 'eucharistic Incarnation'. Betz has underlined these two accents in the

eucharistic theologies of Greek Fathers whose labours cover the period before the Council of Ephesus (431 A.D.). About Cyril's predecessor, Theophilus of Alexandria, Betz writes, "Theophilos redet von der Inkarnation des Logos und der Eucharistie als von einem fortdauernden Vorgang. Die Eucharistie ist die Weiterführung der Logosinkarnation. Um so bemerkenswerter ist es, dass derselbe Autor in einem Osterfest Brief aus dem Jahre 402 die Konsekration der Elemente dem Wirken des Heiligen Geistes zuschreibt."[31] Several other Fathers reflect the juxtaposition of these two lines of thought in their eucharistic theologies by the fact that, alongside of their recognition of the Eucharist as a continuation of the Incarnation, they attribute the consecration of the elements to the Holy Spirit. This is true of Peter of Alexandria,[32] the predecessor of Theophilus, and of Macarius of Magnesia.[33] Cyril of Jerusalem and Gregory of Nyssa also belong to this category.[34]

4.6 Cyril's Logos-oriented Understanding of the Consecration

Where does Cyril's emphasis lie in this regard? In his commentary on Luke 22: 19–20 Cyril writes: That we may not be stupefied by seeing flesh and blood lying on the holy tables of the churches, God, condescending to our infirmities, sends the power of life into the gifts that are set forth and changes them into the energy of His own flesh (*ἐνίησι τοῖς προκειμένοις δύναμιν ζωῆς καὶ μεθίστησιν αὐτὰ πρὸς ἐνέργειαν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σαρκός*) that we may have them for life-giving participation, and that the body of Life may be found in us as a life-giving seed.[35]

At the very point in the progress of the eucharistic liturgy where Cyril obviously has the epiclesis in mind, he speaks not of the descent of the Spirit explicitly, but of the descent of the power of life (*δύναμις ζωῆς*), on the elements.

In what sense are we to understand the words 'the power of Life'? Do they refer to Christ or to the Spirit?

There is Biblical precedent for associating the concept of *δύναμις* with the Holy Spirit. Furthermore, though the argument was apparently not spelled out prior to the seventh century (Dix 277), there is some basis for maintaining that the words, "The power of the Almighty will overshadow you" (. . . *δύναμις ὑψίστου ἐπισκιάσει σοι*) in Luke 1:35 were to provide part of the rationale for the epiclesis of the Spirit in the liturgy. As an eminent synthesizer of the teachings of the Greek Fathers, John of Damascus regarded the association of Luke 1:35 with the epiclesis in the thinking of the Fathers as an established feature of the interpretation of the liturgy. He writes, ". . . For, as all things which God did He did by the operation of the Holy Ghost, so also now the operation of the Holy Ghost performs the things which are beyond nature, which faith alone can grasp. 'How shall this be to me, says the holy Virgin, seeing I know not a man?' The Archangel Gabriel answers, 'The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee.' And now thou askest, How does the bread

become the body of Christ, and the wine and the water the blood of Christ? I also say to thee, The Holy Ghost comes on them and makes them to those things which are beyond reason and thought."[36]

With regard to Cyril of Alexandria, however, we have several reasons to doubt that the use of the phrase 'the power of life' referred to the Holy Spirit. In the first place, judging from the texts that are available to us, Cyril does not state *expressly* that it is the Spirit who brings about the consecration and change of the elements. He can speak quite unequivocally about the interaction between the Logos or Christ and the elements of bread and wine. As we have already mentioned, in his *Letter to Tiberius the Deacon* Cyril writes, "But we believe that the bringing of gifts celebrated in the churches are hallowed, blessed and perfected by Christ."[37] About the interaction between the Spirit and the elements, Cyril does not say much. We realize that this cannot imply that Cyril did not accept the theological implications of the invocation of the Spirit. It would indeed be surprising if a patriarch of the Church of Alexandria were to be found neglectful of such a crucial aspect of the understanding of the eucharistic liturgy. But it does seem to indicate an understanding of the consecration which is more in line with the views of Athanasius and Serapion.

That Cyril too conceived of the consecration of the elements in terms of the Spirit-epiclesis in the eucharistic liturgy could perhaps be deduced from a passage in his *Contra Julianum* where he envisions the Holy Spirit descending from heaven to receive the spiritual and intellectual offerings of the faithful gathered around the Eucharist. Nevertheless, even in this case one gets the impression that the illustration is occasioned by a polemical challenge. He finds the Holy Spirit a superior counterpart to the 'sensible fire' (*πῦρ αἰσθητὸν*) of the altars of the Old Covenant.[38] However, there is no doubt as to where Cyril's emphasis lies. The description of the Logos as life (*ζωή*), life by nature (*ζωὴ κατὰ φύσιν*) and the power of life (*δύναμις ζωῆς*) occurs frequently in Cyril's theology of the Incarnation and the Eucharist.[39] In commenting on a text that lies at the very threshold of the Words of Institution of the Lord's Supper, Cyril writes that mortal flesh must participate in 'the life-giving power of God' and then proceeds to equate this 'life-giving power of God' with 'the only begotten Word' (*δύναμις δὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς ἡ ζωοποιὸς ὁ μονογενής ἐστι Λόγος*).[40] This description provides, in our opinion, a key to an understanding of the sense in which he uses the concept of *δύναμις* in the context of the eucharistic liturgy. In fact, what we see in Cyril's interpretation of Luke 22:19–20 appears to be the components of Cyril's theology of the Incarnation planted into his exposition of the eucharistic liturgy. We have already noted that Cyril describes also the Incarnation in terms of the union of the *δύναμις* of the Logos with flesh.[41]

4.7 Bread and Wine: A Picture of the Presence of the Risen Christ and Not of the Christ to Be Raised

Certain Greek Fathers tended to regard Christ as the passive element in the eucharistic sacrifice, and likened the consecratory power of the epiclesis to the power of the Spirit who once raised the body of Christ and who raises this body in the cultic re-enactment of Christ's sacrifice. This emphasis is evident in the understanding of the consecration in the eucharistic doctrines of Cyril of Jerusalem, John Chrysostom and Theodore of Mopsuestia.[42]

Judging from the writings which have come down to us, there does not seem to be any sign of this emphasis in Cyril's eucharistic doctrine. Cyril regards Christ as the living and active agent also in the consecration and conversion of the elements. It is the *Risen* Christ who walks into the presence of the community of faith gathered around the Eucharist—just as He once walked into the midst of His disciples following His Resurrection (Jn. 20:26ff.).

Cyril appears to be so firmly entrenched in an understanding of the Incarnation and man's vivification which revolves around the Logos and His *δύναμις* that one gets the distinct impression that the Spirit's role as consecrator of the elements—witnessed to in the eucharistic liturgy—is overshadowed by that of the Logos. It can be asked whether this emphasis on the role of the Logos is not to be regarded also as a reflection of a special feature of the *Anaphora of St Mark* which has been underlined by Coquin.[43]

4.8 Background of Alexandrian Eucharistic Theology in Philo's Teaching on the Logos

Even though Cyril regards the Eucharist as a gift of the entire Trinity[44] (a further indication of the Trinitarian emphasis of the liturgy of his day),[45] he regards Christ, in a more immediate sense, as the Host as well as the content of the eucharistic meal. This line of thought reflects not only Cyril's theology of the Incarnation but also a theological tradition whose roots go back to the Hellenistic Jew Philo.

Commenting on the fact that even with regard to the Eucharist the theological interests of Alexandrian theologians revolved around the Logos, Betz writes, "Es war in dieser Stätte hellenistischer Geistigkeit nichts schlechthin Neues, den Logos als die wahre Speise der Seele zu bezeichnen. Der Jude Philo hatte dies in ausgedehntem Masse getan, unter dem Manna verstand er den Logos. Damit nicht genug, hatte er in diesem auch den Spender der himmlischen, Manna genannten Seelenspeise gesehen. Ausserdem hatte er ihn bereits auch den Weinschenk Gottes und Gastmeister genannt, der die heiligen Becher der Wahrheitsfreude eingiesst, selber aber sich nicht vom Trunk unterscheidet. Es

bedurfte keine allzu grossen Umformung, um diese philonischen Gedanken für die Eucharistielehre fruchtbar zu machen. Der Anstoss dazu lag förmlich in der geistigen Luft Alexandriens."[46] Among the Fathers who stand in this tradition are Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Eusebius of Caesarea, Athanasius, Didymus and Theophilus of Alexandria.[47]

Clement of Alexandria regarded the Logos both as the giver and the substance of the eucharistic meal.[48] He takes over the term 'milk' as a designation of the Eucharist from Irenaeus.[49] Those to whom Christ has given rebirth through Baptism are nurtured by His milk–through the Eucharist.[50]

According to Clement, the Logos is father, mother, teacher and nourisher to the child. The body and blood of Christ is nourishment which is appropriate to the faithful. Because the children have this food they lack nothing that is needed for their growth.[51]

According to Origen, Christ receives the bread and wine from God the Father and gives them to those who are worthy to receive these gifts.[52] Christ is the bread but at the same time eats this bread with the faithful. He is the drink from the vine and partakes of this drink with the faithful. In this fact Origen sees the power of the Logos.[53]

4.9 Wisdom's Banquet as a Prefiguration of the Eucharist

Several Alexandrian Fathers were to identify the personified Wisdom of the ninth chapter of the Book of Proverbs with the Incarnate Word understood as the Host of the eucharistic meal. Just as Wisdom once invited people to her furnished table (Proverbs 9:1–5) Christ–God's hypostasized Wisdom–now invites the faithful to His table. This parallel between Wisdom's meal and the Eucharist once employed by Cyprian[54] was to be used by Athanasius, Didymus and Theophilus of Alexandria.[55] The dual role of Christ as the Giver and the Gift in the Eucharist is spelled out in colourful detail by Theophilus of Alexandria who writes, "The divine gifts are laid forth, the mystical table is ready, the life-giving bowl is mixed. The King of Glory summons, the Son of God holds reception, the enfleshed Word of God urges us to come. The hypostasized Wisdom of the Father who has built for herself a temple not made by the hands of men, distributes her body as bread and bestows her life-giving blood as wine. . ."[56]

Though no commentary on Proverbs 9:1–5 has come down to us from Cyril, there is indirect evidence that Cyril, too, commented on this text in the tradition of his predecessors.[57]

As we have already shown, Cyril interprets Jesus' words of thanksgiving in Matthew's and Luke's narratives of the Words of Institution in a manner which portrays Jesus not as a suppliant who is asking for something He does not already possess but as a co-bestower of the life-giving blessing of the Eucharist with God the Father. The implication is that Christ is the Host of the eucharistic meal just as much as is the Father.

4.10 Incarnation Decisive for Cyril's Understanding of the Presence of Ascended Lord in the Eucharist

In the Eucharist, Christ is both Host and food. He is the Giver and the Gift. For Cyril the Word who is already Incarnate is the substance of the eucharistic meal. How then is the presence of the Incarnate Word in the Eucharist to be understood?

Cyril takes for granted that between the days of the earthly sojourn of Christ and His presence in the Church in the Eucharist, there is the Ascension and the Exaltation. He states that it was necessary for Christ to depart to His Father and that Christ thereafter keeps His disciples by His side through the Spirit.[58] What believers receive in the Eucharist is the body of the Exalted Christ. And yet Cyril does not seem to let these implications of the Resurrection and Ascension decisively influence the language of his eucharistic theology. As G. Kretschmar has put it, "... die Fragestellung des abendländischen frühen Mittelalters nach dem Verhältnis zwischen dem geschichtlichen und dem eucharistischen Leib Christi lag ihm noch ebenso fern wie der ganzen griechischen Patristik."[59] For Cyril Christ is primarily the Logos, the life-giving power of God the Father, always moving among men in undiminished might in spite of the fact of the *κένωσις*. It is the Logos who operates in an uninterrupted way in the Christ of the Gospel narratives, be it in His pre-resurrection or His post-resurrection ministry among men. That is why Cyril feels free to use historical, Scriptural references to the presence and work of Christ among men as a spring-board for speaking about the presence and work of the Exalted Christ in the eucharistic liturgy.

It is Cyril's claim that *what the life-giving Word Incarnate did among men during His earthly ministry, He now does in the eucharistic liturgy.* Christ had just as much vivifying power when He walked on earth as He does now when He, in His exalted state, is present in the eucharistic liturgy. That is why Cyril uses signs which Christ performed among men on earth as points of departure for explaining what He does in the eucharistic liturgy. If he adds that the Eucharist bestows greater blessings on the faithful than did these signs on those on whom they were performed, it is because Cyril believed that the *eating* of the body of Christ is a still greater *participation* in the vivifying power of Christ, and not because he believed that the Christ who performed signs among men had less vivifying power than the Exalted Christ of the eucharistic liturgy.

In his commentary on John 6:53 Cyril makes reference to the raising from the dead by Jesus of the daughter of the chief of the synagogue (Luke 8:54) and of the son of the widow of Nain (Luke 7:12). What Cyril says in this connection helps to illustrate our point. Cyril writes, "And if by the touch of His holy flesh, He gives life to that which has decayed, how shall we not profit yet more richly by the life-giving blessing when we also taste it."[60]

Two things are underlined for us in these words. In the first place Cyril assumes a continuity between the life-giving flesh of Christ which raised the young girl and

the young man, and the body which is present and is eaten in the Eucharist. In the second place the difference between these Gospel incidents of Christ's ministry and the Eucharist lies in the varying measures of participation indicated by the experience of *being touched* by this flesh as compared to the *eating* of this flesh. Otherwise Cyril makes no distinction as to the efficacy of the flesh of Christ on the level of the working of miracles and on the level of Christ's presence in the Eucharist.

Cyril's tendency not to differentiate between the modes of Christ's presence among the faithful during the days of His earthly sojourn and His presence among the faithful in His exalted state, is to be noted in his commentary on John 20:17: "Jesus saith to her (i.e. Mary), Touch me not; for I am not yet ascended unto My Father." Cyril writes, "Hence the type is applicable to the Churches. Therefore we too drive away from the holy table those who are indeed convinced of the Godhead of Christ, and have already made profession of faith, that is, those who are already catechumens, when they have not as yet been enriched with the Holy Spirit. For He does not dwell in those who have not received Baptism. But when they have been made partakers of the Holy Spirit, then indeed there is nothing to hinder them from touching our Saviour Christ. Therefore, also, to those who wish to partake of the blessed Eucharist, the ministers of Divine mysteries say, 'Holy things to the holy'; teaching that participation in holy things is the due reward of those who are sanctified in the Spirit."[61]

It is quite obvious from the foregoing that Cyril draws a parallel between the body of the Risen Christ (whom Mary was not allowed to touch) and *τὰ ἅγια* of the eucharistic meal, i.e. the consecrated elements which (as is to be deduced from the warning implied in the words 'Holy things to holy men') the unbaptized were not allowed to receive. The body of the Risen Christ and the holy things of the eucharistic liturgy are equated.

4.11 Is There a Repetition of the Incarnation in the Eucharist?

We have thus far maintained that for Cyril of Alexandria what occurs in the eucharistic liturgy is a re-enactment or a making present of the Incarnation and its life-giving benefits. In what sense is this emphasis to be understood? Does Cyril teach a repetition of the event of the Incarnation at every celebration of the Eucharist?

For Cyril the Incarnation is a unique and unrepeatable event. The consecration of the elements does not represent a repetition of the Incarnation in the strict sense of the term. This may not appear to be the case at first sight. Cyril seems to speak of the eucharistic liturgy as an event in which the 'unenfleshed' Word or His *δύναμις* and not the enfleshed Word, descends on the elements. However, a closer look shows that this is not his main emphasis. For Cyril, once Incarnate, the Logos remains Incarnate. After the Incarnation the Logos and His flesh are inseparable.[62]

Regarding the question as to whether each body which receives the Eucharist also becomes life-giving by virtue of its reception of the life-giving body of Christ, Cyril replies, "His being in us does not mean that He has become Incarnate and become flesh (in us). This He became once for all (ἅπαξ) when He became Man, not putting away (His) being God."[63] For Cyril therefore the unique and once-for-all character of the Incarnation is beyond question.

4.12 Cyril's Understanding of the Conversion of the Elements

Cyril uses the verbs μεταποιεῖν and μεθιστάναι to describe the conversion of the elements in the Eucharist.[64] Betz maintains that, apart from some excerpts from the writings of the Gnostic Theodotos which have come down to us through Clement of Alexandria, the employment of these terms by Cyril is the first indication of an explicit use of a 'Wandlungsbegriff' by a Christian theologian in Egypt.[65] Outside of Egypt one or more of these terms were in current use in the explanation of what occurs to the elements in the Eucharist. Gregory of Nyssa employed both terms whereas Theodore of Mopsuestia is known to have used μεταποιεῖν as an indicator of 'conversion'.[66] Much later on one comes across the use of μεταποιεῖν for the same purpose by John of Damascus.[67]

Cyril does not elaborate on the meanings of these designations for the conversion of the elements. The explanation of the how of the eucharistic presence of the Ascended Lord or of the conversion of the elements does not seem to have been a special concern for him. It is the union of the divine and human natures—the hypostatic union, a dogmatic principle—which Cyril underlines also in his understanding of the eucharistic liturgy. For Cyril the life-giving efficacy of the Eucharist lies in the mystery of the union of the two natures.

The conversion of the elements must therefore be understood as a uniting or an assumption of these elements into the body of the already Incarnate and Ascended Lord. The Logos does not leave His Incarnate state to join Himself ever anew to the elements. The once-for-all character of the Incarnation must now be extended to cover the idea of the conversion of the elements.

4.13 Cyril and Nestorius on the Implications of the Eating of the Eucharistic Bread

It is Nestorius' argument that the words, "He that eateth my body and drinketh my blood abideth in me and I in him" are to be understood of the humanity of Christ and not of His divinity.[68] He claims that Cyril wrongly interprets these words as applying to the divinity of Christ.[69] Does Cyril in fact teach that the faithful consume the divinity of Christ in the Eucharist?

Cyril clearly denies that in the Eucharist the faithful consume the divinity of the Logos as such. He writes, "We eat, not as those consuming the divinity, (God forbid!) but rather the very flesh of the Logos which has become life-giving. . ."[70] For Cyril the Logos is not edible except in the sense in which the body of Christ is understood as a coming together of the *ἰδιώματα* of the two natures according to 'an economical concurrence' (*κατὰ σύμβασιν οἰκονομικήν*).[71]

In other words Cyril feels that one cannot separate the divinity and the flesh of Christ in the Eucharist. It is the union of the divinity with the flesh which is decisive for the vivifying virtue of the elements. This fact of the union must find its place in the understanding of what occurs in the eating of the consecrated bread and the drinking of the consecrated wine.

Even on the level of the eucharistic liturgy, Cyril's theology is marked by an underlining of the unity of the natures of Christ while Nestorius' tendency is still to make sharp distinctions between these natures although he does insist that the unity of the Person of Christ is a tenet of his faith.

4.14 Closing Remarks

For Cyril the Logos and the Incarnation stand at the very centre of that divine counsel with which God saw fit to meet the plight of Fallen Man. The eucharistic liturgy as a cultic prolongation of the Incarnation of the Logos also stands at the very centre of Cyril's understanding of the remedy provided by God, for the restoration of Fallen Man. This emphasis is evident in Cyril's interpretation of the epiclesis, in which *Christ* is given a prominent place. It is this theme of the centrality of the Word made flesh as vivifier of man through the Eucharist which Cyril elaborates in his understanding of the nature of the consecrated elements and his view of what the eating of these elements implies. In the next chapter we shall take a brief look at the debate as to whether Cyril regarded the presence of Christ in the Eucharist as a dynamic, spiritual presence or as a corporeal and substantial presence.

Notes on Chapter Four

1 Among some of the more important documents which have been used in attempting to reconstruct the original *Anaphora of St Mark*, we can mention three classes:

a The Papyri (e.g. the *Papyrus No 465 in the John Rylands Library* in Manchester /P *Ryl.* 3 465/, the *Papyrus Dêr-Balizeh*, and the *Papyrus of Barcelona* /P. *Barc.*/)

b The Greek manuscripts used by F E Brightman which are believed to be of a late date.

c. The Coptic-Bohairic version named after Cyril, which also is believed to be of a late date. For further details on these and other Egyptian liturgical texts, see van Haelst 1976.

For the most recent and most thorough study on the Alexandrian *Anaphora of St Mark*, see Coquin 1969 307–356 On the history of the texts of the Egyptian *Liturgy of St Mark*, see Engberding 1955 40–68, on the relationship between the liturgy which bears Cyril's name and the Syriac anaphora named after Timothy, see Engberding 1958 55–67. For a brief survey of the history of the *Anaphora of St Mark*, see Kretschmar 1976 261f

In some late manuscripts, the Coptic version of the *Anaphora of St Mark*—as transmitted in Bohairic—bears the name of Cyril. J. Meyendorff maintains that Cyril is the author of the liturgical prayer called *cheroubikon*. Meyendorff 1975 40 However, liturgical scholars are agreed that Cyril never wrote a liturgy Neither has he left us any work resembling, for instance, the *Mystagogical Catecheses* of Cyril of Jerusalem. The ascription of the Coptic-Bohairic version of the *Anaphora of St Mark* to Cyril appears to be a measure intended to attach the weight of Cyril's stature as a theologian to the anaphora Hammerschmidt 1970 100. Though this anaphora cannot be regarded as a depository of specifically Cyrillian theology it does, at certain points, reflect Cyril's Christology. This fact is best illustrated by the following words which the priest utters as part of the *homologia* prior to the Communion in the *Anaphora of St Mark*, "This is in truth the body and blood of Emmanuel our God, Amen. I believe, I believe, I believe and I confess unto the last breath that this is the vivifying flesh which thine only-begotten Son our Lord and our God and our Saviour Jesus Christ took of the lady of us all, the holy Theotokos S. Mary. He made it one with His godhead without confusion and without mixture and without alteration Having confessed the good confession before Pontius Pilate He gave it also for us on the holy tree of the cross by His own will, Himself for us all I verily believe that His godhead was not severed from His manhood for one moment nor for the twinkling of an eye. It is given for us to be salvation and forgiveness of sins and life everlasting to them that shall receive of it. I believe that this is so in truth Amen " Brightman 1896; reprint 1967 185.

2 See Brightman, 1896; reprint 1967 504–509, where the author gives a tabulation of references to different parts of the *Liturgy of St Mark* from the writings of Cyril and other Egyptian Fathers, mostly of the fourth and fifth centuries.

3 *fr Mt.* 26.27 (PG 72, 452BC).

4 This 'bringing of gifts' (*δωροφορία*) is a reference to the Eucharist as we have indicated in Chapter Three, p. 54

5 *Lc.* 22:19 (PG 72, 908B). For a translation of this text from the Syriac into English, see Smith 1859 664f.

6 In matching some of Cyril's references to the liturgy with the liturgy itself, Brightman locates the section of Cyril's commentary to the Mattheian narrative in which the earnest prayer is mentioned, just prior to the 'fraction' Brightman 1896; reprint 1967 505. It must, however, be added that Brightman's text was a *late* redaction.

7 In their present forms the Greek version of the *Anaphora of St Mark*, and its Coptic-Bohairic version contain two epicleses. a short one before the Words of Institution and a longer one after the anamnesis In both versions of the anaphora the longer epiclesis prays explicitly for the change of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ. Brightman 1896; reprint 1967 132, 134, 176, 179. In view of this fact the purpose of the short or antecedent epiclesis seems, at first sight, unclear. Coquin, who also cites B. Botte, is of the view that this antecedent epiclesis

was an initial attempt to express the role of the Spirit in the eucharistic mystery Coquin 1969 330 Lietzmann regards the antecedent epiclesis (which he calls the 'πληρωσον epiclesis') as an extension or development of the Sanctus as it was formulated in Egypt Lietzmann 1926 76f Coquin 1969 330 and Kretschmar 1976 261 maintain the same position Kretschmar further maintains that the linking of the Spirit with both the antecedent and the long epiclesis reflects an adjustment resulting from the new Trinitarian insight according to which all of God's saving acts in the world were understood to occur through the Holy Spirit Kretschmar 1976 261 The fact that the Spirit is invoked at two places does not mean that there are now two consecratory epicleses with equal theological weight For further facts on this subject, see Baumstark (trans Botte) 1953 28ff

8 The second epiclesis in the *Anaphora of St Mark* is a consecration epiclesis which invokes the Holy Spirit on the elements of bread and wine We know that such an epiclesis had entered the liturgies of Egypt by the middle of the fourth century Capelle, 1946 442f

9 The presence of two epicleses, a special feature of the eucharistic liturgies of Egypt, can be said to be the result of an interaction between liturgies of Syrian origin and the *Liturgy of St Mark* Coquin maintains that the epiclesis praying formally for the transformation of the elements after the anamnesis, spread to Egypt from Syria In the *Papyrus Dêr Balizeh* and the *Copt Lovan 27* this Antiochene influence made itself felt in the sense that it led to the evolution of a full fledged epiclesis *prior* to the Words of Institution In the case of the anaphoras of St Mark and Ps Serapion (with its Logos epiclesis), however, the Antiochene influence seems to have been more far reaching and resulted in the placing of the epiclesis *after* the Words of Institution Coquin 1969 330, 350f See also Baumstark (trans Botte) 1953 28f

10 For studies on the *Papyrus Dêr Balizeh*, see de Puniet 1909 34–51, Roberts and Capelle 1949 7–61, Gamber 1969 61–83, van Haelst 1969 444–455

11 This Coptic anaphora which also has a long epiclesis prior to the Words of Institution was published by Th Lefort in 1940 Lefort 1940 22–24 Until its publication, the *Papyrus Dêr Balizeh* was supposed to be the only witness to a long epiclesis prior to the Words of Institution in the liturgies of Egypt

12 R Roca Puig maintains that this unedited anaphora among the Barcelona Papyri, is to be regarded as an anaphora of the *Liturgy of St Mark* It, too, has a long epiclesis prior to the Words of Institution in which the Father is entreated to send the Spirit to transform the bread into the body of Christ and the cup into the blood of Christ Roca Puig 1966 91–92

13 See note 10 above

14 Lietzmann 1926 76

15 Baumstark (trans Botte) 1953 28f

16 Roberts and Capelle 1949 52

17 Recently, J van Haelst has, in a new look at the *Papyrus Dêr Balizeh*, advanced the hypothesis that originally the Egyptian anaphoras contained only one short epiclesis before the recitation of the Words of Institution He suggests that the modifications which later appeared in these anaphoras could be due to Syrian influence These modifications could, according to van Haelst, have taken the form of a prolongation of the short epiclesis, as in the case of the *Copt Lovan 27*, the *Papyrus of Dêr Balizeh* and as it appears, also the *P Barc* The modifications could also have taken the form of an introduction of a second and longer epiclesis after the Words of Institution as in the case of the *Anaphora of St Mark* van Haelst 1970 210

18 Coquin 1969 329f

19 In spite of the difficulty posed by the mutilation of the Papyrus and the presence of the longer epiclesis prior to the recitation of the Words of Institution, S Salaville was to maintain that the Papyrus did not represent an exception to the principal liturgies of Egypt which have an epiclesis also after the Words of Institution He based his conclusion on his belief that the Papyrus generally conformed to the main liturgies of Egypt and on the character of the epiclesis itself Salaville's argument was that the repetition of the epiclesis was a characteristic of all Egyptian liturgies, and that the Greek *Anaphora of St Mark* and its Coptic version were witnesses to this fact Salaville 1910 133–134

20 See note 8 above See also Baumstark (trans Botte) 1953 29, Kretschmar 1976 261

21 Coquin points to the fact that those papyri which appear to witness to only one epiclesis prior to the Words of Institution are incomplete and that one cannot affirm with full certainty that they

did not contain an epiclesis also after the anamnesis But he does underline the view that it is very improbable that these papyri had an epiclesis after the anamnesis, since the antecedent epiclesis includes everything that a full fledged consecratory epiclesis prays for Coquin 1969 330 See also Lietzmann 1926 76 and Roberts and Capelle 1949 52

22 Coquin 1969 307–362

23 Ibid 345, 353, *fr Mt* 26 27 (PG 72, 452D)

24 *Lc* 22 19ff (PG 72, 912A)

25 Pusey III 595 l 19f, Cyril, *ad Calosyrium* (PG 76, 1097BC)

26 Coquin 1969 346

27 Ibid

28 Dix 1954 168 On the subject of the antiquity of a Logos epiclesis **in Alexandria see Engberding** 1956 57

29 *Or ad baptiz* (PG 26, 1325C)

30 *Euchołog Serap* (FlP 7/I 62 Quasten) On the question of the disputed authorship of this anaphora, which originally was attributed to Serapion, Bishop of Thumis, see Botte 1964 50–56

31 Betz 1955 289 Evidence of the fact that Theophilus understood the consecration as a work of the Spirit is available in Hieronymus, *ep 98*, 13 (CSEL 55, 196 l 29–197 l 12 Hilberg)

32 Theodoret, *E H IV* (GCS 251 l 15f Parmentier)

33 Betz 1955 290

34 Cyril of Jerusalem writes, "Then having sanctified ourselves by these spiritual Hymns, we call upon the merciful God to send forth his Holy Spirit upon the gifts lying before Him, that He may make the Bread the Body of Christ, and the Wine the Blood of Christ, for whatsoever the Holy Ghost has touched, is sanctified and changed" *Cat Myst* 5 7 (FlP 7/II 101 Quasten) A little further on, elaborating on the words of the celebrating priest 'Holy things to holy men', Cyril continues, "Holy are the gifts presented, since they have been visited by the Holy Ghost, holy things therefore correspond to the holy persons" *Cat Myst* 5 19 (FlP 7/II 107 Quasten), on Gregory of Nyssa, see *Oratio in baptismum Christi* (PG 46, 581C)

35 *Lc* 22 19ff (PG 72, 912A)

36 See "Exposition of the Orthodox Faith", LNPF (2nd ser), Vol IX, 1955 82f (Reprint of 1898) On this subject, see also Betz 1955 291ff
Gregory Dix maintains that the primitive usage of the word 'epiclesis' in connection with the Eucharist is intimately connected with the 'blessing of the Name' in food benedictions, practised by Jews and Christians alike He further maintains that by the fourth century this idea had evolved into a prayer which was presumed to have a more directly consecratory intention According to Dix, Serapion (4th century) is a witness to a still further development in which a specifically Christological concern begins to be interwoven into the consecratory prayer In this anaphora there is a petition for the advent of the Word upon the bread and wine, a parallel, according to Dix, to His advent at the Incarnation in the womb of Mary Nevertheless, for Dix it is not this parallel which became the basis of the theory of eucharistic consecration as an operation of the Holy Spirit This view is rather based on a theological theory about the office and mission of God the Holy Ghost Himself Dix 1954 275f On the connection of the Jewish table prayer to the consecratory prayer in the Eucharist, see Kretschmar 1977 69f

37 See note 25 above

38 *Juln* 10 (PG 76, 1029D 1032C)

39 On this subject, see Chapter Three For the use of the term 'life' as applied to Christ, see *ador* 3 (PG 68, 289BC), *Lc* (PG 72, 908B) See *Jo* 10,2 (Pusey II 543 l 10) where Christ's flesh is called 'the flesh of life' (*η σαρξ τῆς ζωῆς*) The body of Christ is understood to belong to Him who is 'life by nature' (*σῶμα τῆς κατα φυσιν ζωῆς*) *Jo* 3,4 (Pusey I 475 l 26) For the use of the term power in combination with life as a description of Christ, see *Is* 3,2 (PG 70, 680B), " our Lord Jesus Christ has become for us the power of the bread of life (*δυναμις ἄρτου ζωῆς*), also *Jo* 10,2 (Pusey II 543 l 14–15) where the body of Christ is said to have changed into the power of life (*προς την τῆς ζωῆς μετεχωρησε δυναμιν*)

40 *Lc* (PG 72, 908D)

41 See Chapter Three, p 49 f

42 Betz 1955 93–99

43 Coquin has drawn attention to the fact that the *Anaphora of St Mark* is unique among other

oriental liturgies in underlining the mediatory role of Jesus in the actualization of the eucharistic sacrifice Coquin 1969 328f.

44 See note 5 above.

45 The entry of a Spirit-epiclesis into the *Anaphora of St Mark* was a witness to a development on the level of doctrine. The second Council of Constantinople (381) had underlined the divinity and hypostatic identity of the Holy Spirit This recognition reflected a fully developed Trinitarian doctrine which necessarily had to find expression in worship.

46 Betz 1955 92–93 For the section of this chapter which follows immediately the writer acknowledges his indebtedness to J Betz.

47 Betz 1955 93–99

48 Ibid 93

49 *Paed.* I 6, 42, 2 (GCS I 115 Stahlin).

50 *Paed.* I 6, 49, 3 (GCS I 119)

51 *Paed.* I 6, 42, 3 (GCS I 115).

52 In *Mt. comm* ser 86 (GCS XI 198, 13–17, 22–28 Klostermann)

53 Ibid (GCS XI 199, 17–25 Kl.).

54 *Epist.* 63, 5 (CSEL 3/2, 704 Hartel).

55 Betz 1955 96.

56 Ps.-Cyril of Alexandria, *Hom X in coenam myst* (PG 77, 1017CD).

57 Cyril too regarded Christ as the Incarnation of God's Wisdom. *thes.* 32 (PG 75, 484AB).

58 Commenting on John 16·7 Cyril writes But when time and necessity demanded His restoration to His Father in Heaven, it was essential that He should associate Himself by the Spirit with His worshippers. *Jo.* 10, 2 (PG 74, 433C)

59 Kretschmar 1976 75.

60 *Jo.* 4,3 (Pusey I 530 114–831 l.2.).

61 *Jo* 12, 1 (PG 74 695CD), (Pusey III, 119 l.19–30).

62 *Jo.* 4, 2 (Pusey I 529 l. 24–30) Speaking of the body of Christ, Cyril writes that it is "... *ἀδιαίρετος . . μετὰ τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν . .*"

63 *Lc.* 22:19ff (PG 72, 908D)

64 On Cyril's use of *μεταποιεῖν, fr Mt.* 26.27 (PG 72, 452C)
On *μεθιστάναι*, *ibid.*, 452D; *Lc* 22.19ff. (PG 72, 912A). Cyril also speaks of the elements being *μεταπλασθῆναι*. *fr.Mt* 26.27 (PG 72, 452C)

65 Betz 1955 313

66 Ibid. 310–312

67 *De Fide Orthodoxa* 4, 13 (PG 94, 1144)

68 Driver and Hodgson 1925 254; Loofs 1905 227f.

69 Driver and Hodgson 1925 254.

70 *Nest* 4 (PG 76, 192D–193A).

71 *Thds* (PG 76, 1189D–1192A).

CHAPTER FIVE

The Body and Blood of Christ in the Eucharist: Corporeal or Spiritual Presence?

5.1 Introduction

Scholars have been sharply divided on the question of Cyril's teaching on the mode of the presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist. Among those who maintained that Cyril taught a dynamic, spiritual presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist are G.E. Steitz,[1] A. Harnack,[2] F. Loofs[3] and E. Michaud.[4] Scholars like F.C. Baur,[5] G. Thomasius,[6] P. Batiffol,[7] J. Mahé[8] and A. Struckmann[9] held the view that Cyril taught a substantial, corporeal presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist.

In order to be able to place what we have to say on this issue in a historical context and to identify the main currents of opinion in the interpretation of this aspect of Cyril's eucharistic theology, we shall give a brief survey of the main studies that have been carried out on this subject.

5.2 The Position of G.E. Steitz: Presence Not in Substance but Rather in Effect

Writing on this subject over a century ago, G.E. Steitz came to the following conclusion: "Cyril wanted to hold fast to the real presence and the real eating of the body and blood of Christ in the Sacrament. However, the consecrated bread and wine are present and are received by the communicants not according to their substance but rather only dynamically, i.e. according to their power and effect." (. . . nicht ihrer Substanz nach, sondern nur dynamisch, d.h. nach ihrer Kraft und Wirkung.)[10]

Steitz builds his argument on Cyril's interpretation of Luke 22:17–22. In this connection he quotes the following words of Cyril: "It was fitting therefore for Him to be in us both divinely by the Holy Ghost, and also, so to speak, to be mingled with our bodies by His holy flesh and precious blood: which things also we possess as a life-giving Eucharist, in the form of bread and wine. For lest we should be terrified by seeing (actual) flesh and blood placed upon the holy tables of our churches, God, humbling Himself to our infirmities, infuses into the things

set before us the power of life, and transforms them into the efficacy of His flesh, that we may have them for a life-giving participation, and that the body of (Him who is the) Life may be found in us as a life-giving seed."[11] Commenting on this text Steitz writes, "This place not only makes Cyril's opinion secure against every doubt, but also finalizes (concludes) it."[12]

Steitz continues, "Just as the Logos once transformed (*verwandelt*) His body from mortality into immortality and transfigured it qualitatively through the mediation (*Mittheilung*) of His power of life (*Lebenskraft*), He also transforms the elements not substantially but according to their duality (*sondern ihrer Dualität nach*) into His body and His blood in that He bestows on them from this (body) the life-producing (*lebensschaffende*) power and operation and thereby enables them (i.e. the elements) to bring about in the communicants an analogous, qualitative transformation, i.e. to transfer (*versetzen*) their bodies, with whom He mixes Himself, from mortality to immortality."[13]

It is Steitz's argument that Cyril must have recognized a distinction between the eucharistic body and the exalted body of Christ in the sense explained above. Neverhteless he underlines the fact that the sense in which the two are related in Cyril's view is not to be conceived of in the same sense in which Theodoret understood the relationship, namely as the relationship between an image and an object, (*Verhàltnis von Bild und Sache*).[14]

Steitz maintains that, in Cyril's view, the effect of the consecration consists in the fact that as a result of the prayer of the priest, the Logos descends on the elements, elevates or exalts them dynamically and thus makes them His body and blood. Quoting a section from *Homilia X in coenam mysticam* (a work which Steitz along with other patristic scholars of his day believed to have been authored by Cyril),[15] Steitz maintains that Cyril believed that the vivifying power of the body and blood of the Logos was mediated through the visible '*Gestalt*' of the bread and wine. The words "He distributes His body *as bread* (italics mine) and gives His vivifying blood *as wine* (italics mine)" (*ὡς ἄρτον διανέμει . . . ὡς οἶνον ἐπιδίδωσι*) in the aforementioned homily as well as the words ". . . as in bread and wine" (*ὡς ἐν ἄρτῳ τε καὶ οἴνῳ*) in Cyril's commentary to Luke 22:17—22, underline, in Steitz's opinion, the distinction which Cyril must have seen between the exalted body of Christ and the consecrated bread and wine. What is involved in the Eucharist is therefore not the presence of the body of Christ, but rather the presence of the Logos and the power of life (*Lebenskraft*) of His body, which He allows to gush forth (*aufbrechen*) like a fountain on all altars in the Sacrament.[16]

Steitz further argues that Cyril was the first one in 'the Greek Church' to state expressly the view that the eucharistic bread preserves in an inalienable way the incorruptibility (*Unverweslichkeit*) which it has received from the glorified or transfigured body of Christ through the consecration.[17]

Steitz winds up his brief study by comparing Cyril and Theodoret. Theodoret distinguishes sharply between the eucharistic body and the real body of Christ. Cyril on the other hand expresses himself as if he accepted the real presence and

the eating of the exalted body itself. Neither did Cyril call the eucharistic body an image or a figure (*Bild*). In spite of this, Steitz maintains, the exalted body and the elements are not, for Cyril, identical, since it is only the power and effectiveness of this body, and not the exalted body itself, which is present and immanent in the consecrated bread. In this respect Steitz sees a similarity between Theodoret and Cyril. However, whereas Theodoret was to stay with the sort of language which corresponded to this dynamic interpretation of the presence of Christ in the Eucharist, Cyril, according to Steitz, took up a precedent set by Chrysostom and spoke of a physical mixing (*einer physischen Vermengung*) with the flesh of the Logos. Steitz is of the opinion that it is liturgical rhetoric, in which Cyril expresses his thoughts, which has contributed essentially to the fact that the distinction between the eucharistic body and the real body was weakened in the consciousness of later times.[18]

5.3 E. Michaud's Interpretation of Cyril's Eucharistic Theology as 'Dynamic'

Almost forty years later E. Michaud was to tackle the same issue that Steitz had written on—though in a much more long-winded style and on the basis of presuppositions which were far more provocative than Steitz's. His study *Saint Cyrille d'Alexandrie et l'Eucharistie* is divided into three parts.[19] The first part dwells on Cyril's *De adoratione*. The Second part draws on the *Five Books Against Nestorius*. In the third and the shortest section Michaud argues his case on the basis of Cyril's *Commentary on the Gospel of John*.

Michaud's main intention is to prove that what is implied in Cyril's teaching on the Eucharist is not a corporeal or material eating of the flesh and blood of the Incarnate Lord but rather the reception of a spiritual grace. The goal of the believer's participation in the Eucharist is the sanctification of the soul by spiritual and divine grace. All else that is involved in the ritual of the Eucharist is the sign of what is accomplished in and for the soul and a means whereby the sanctification of the soul is accomplished.[20] Michaud links the Eucharist and Baptism and states that in Cyril the sacraments are spiritual mysteries of the same order. They have the same goal and confirm the same grace.[21] The vivification of the soul in the Eucharist is not of another nature than the soul's purification in Baptism. The spiritual life always means dying to sin and living to God in Christ.[22]

Michaud cites different parts of Cyril's works to prove his point. For Cyril the Eucharist is mystical and hidden.[23] It is not grossly visible, nor is it consumed in a carnal manner. The believer participates in the sacrifice of Christ, the Lamb, through or by a life-giving benediction, a eulogy, and not in a carnal and corporeal way. The goal of this participation is purification of the soul and worship of God in spirit and in truth.

Michaud insists that what Cyril teaches is a participation, a spiritual eating of

the *Word* in the spirit and by the spirit. Cyril is not afraid of using the term pneumatic with regard to the nourishment involved in the Eucharist and the term power (δύναμις) with regard to things divine and their operation on the soul.[24] What takes place in the Eucharist is a communication between the *Word* as God and the *soul* as man's spiritual component.[25] Spiritual nourishment and true eucharistic communion is to believe in the Word made man, to believe in His visible humanity and His invisible divinity.[26]

It is Michaud's argument that the way Cyril interprets the rites of worship in the Old Testament, his distinct preference for and insistence that it is the spiritual significance of the material rites that one should seek, goes completely against the classical Catholic interpretation of the Eucharist as something in which a corporeal presence and a carnal eating of the Incarnate Lord is involved.[27]

The second part of Michaud's study deals with Cyril's understanding of the Eucharist, as reflected in his controversy with Nestorius. For Michaud, Cyril's insistence that only a real and personal union of the Logos with the flesh which He assumed could make the Eucharist life-giving, is one more proof of the fact that in the last analysis that which vivifies is the participation of the believer in the Logos, not in the material flesh and blood of Christ.[28] Even Cyril states that the material flesh is corruptible. The decisive element is the Word who dwells in the believer. When Cyril speaks about the believer's participating in Christ (σωματικῶς) he simply means that the believer's participation in Christ renders him stronger than his own corruptibility.[29] Michaud maintains that, in spite of Cyril's insistence that one should not separate the two natures in Christ, Cyril nevertheless emphasizes the *spiritual* significance of redemption and of the Eucharist and attributes all to the divine and spiritual power of the Word himself who alone is Life by nature. It is not of the nature of the flesh to give life.[30] For Cyril to eat the flesh of Christ, or the humanity of Christ, is to eat the Word made man.[31] Since Cyril rejects cannibalism[32] expressly he could not, according to Michaud, be speaking about eating Christ's corporeal or material flesh in the Eucharist. To eat Christ's flesh or the eucharistic bread is not to eat His material flesh but rather to unite oneself to His humanity, to the extent that Christ's humanity has been sacrificed for the salvation of mankind and to the extent that His humanity has been an instrument of the vivifying Word. Thus, for Michaud, participation in the Eucharist is a uniting of the believer by faith to the Word Himself, to the Word who vivifies humanity by the sacrifice of His own humanity. For Cyril the eucharistic flesh is the very sacrifice of Christ—the unbloody sacrifice (θυσία ἀναίμακτος). The dynamic force of this sacrifice is not carnal, but spiritual.[33]

In the third section of his essay, Michaud interprets the parable of the vine and the branches (Jn 15) as a picture of a participation in Christ, on a 'dynamic' level—as a sharing in a κοινωνία with Christ, and not as a physical participation in the body of Christ.

5.4 J. Mahé: Cyril as a Proponent of Eucharistic Realism

The first fairly detailed Roman Catholic reply to the views propounded by Steitz and Michaud appears to be J. Mahé's article *L'Eucharistie et Cyrille d'Alexandrie*.[34] This article is an attempt to weigh and evaluate the sharply contradictory conclusions arrived at by different scholars on what Cyril is believed to have taught on the mode of the presence of Christ in the Eucharist. Mahé dismisses E. Michaud's work summarily in the following words, "The disintegrative and fanciful exegesis which leads to this conclusion doesn't seem to have been taken very seriously; it has been judged, it appears, with some irony even in the Old Catholic (*vieux-catholique*) and Protestant world, where the author had his friends."[35]

Mahé then turns his attention to the much earlier work of G.E. Steitz which, though, in his opinion, it comes to a conclusion that is basically identical to Michaud's, he feels does so on the basis of a thorough documentation and by a seemingly more scientific approach. His main objection to Steitz's argument is that Steitz draws sweeping conclusions on the basis of one verse, instead of listening to what Cyril says in his many other writings. Mahé argues on the basis of the presupposition that Cyril's eucharistic theology is a reproduction of his theology of the Incarnation—of the life-giving union of the Word and His flesh. It is this basic presupposition which guides Mahé's choice of texts. He does not dwell on words and phrases. He underlines the implications of the union of the Logos and flesh for the effectiveness of the *flesh* of the Logos (italics mine).

In contrast to Steitz's quotation of the Lukan text which describes the result of the consecration of the elements as a conversion into the *efficacy* or *energy* of the flesh of the Logos, Mahé quotes Cyril's commentary on Matthew 26:27, where Cyril writes that the elements are not a figure and that they are really changed into the body and blood of Christ.[36] Concerning this commentary, Mahé says, "It is surely impossible to say (these) things more clearly and in more expressive terms."[37] Mahé maintains, "Let us note the firmness and precision of this teaching. In the Eucharist it is the flesh of the Logos which sanctifies us; not a flesh considered in itself and separated from the divinity; for then it would become inefficacious; but the flesh united hypostatically to the Word and vivified by this union. It has this vivifying energy not of itself (*de son propre fond*); it has acquired it in becoming the flesh of the Word; but it possesses it in a very real sense; and it is truly this which vivifies us; it is by its action that we are transformed."[38]

5.5 A. Struckmann: Presence in Substance and Not Only in Effect

The most extensive study on Cyril's eucharistic theology that has come down to

us to date is Adolph Struckmann's *Die Eucharistielehre des heiligen Cyrill von Alexandrien.*[39] Struckmann's study is a reply to the views propounded by Steitz, Harnack and Michaud. The author tries to demonstrate that what the Catholic Church teaches on the mode of the presence of Christ in the Eucharist conforms in full to Scripture and to the oldest tradition of the undivided Church. Through a wide selection of quotations from those writings in which Cyril deals with the Eucharist, Struckmann maps out in a general way what appears to be the entire landscape of Cyril's eucharistic theology.

He begins with a presentation of the main emphases in the eucharistic theologies of some Alexandrian Fathers of the fourth century, and thus introduces the tradition in which Cyril's thinking on the Eucharist could have been moulded.[40] He then proceeds to quote 'prooftexts' chronologically from those writings authored by Cyril before the Nestorian heresy.[41] Struckmann then does the same thing for the period covering the Nestorian controversy.[42] Towards the end of his work Struckmann cites evidence for his thesis from some of Cyril's commentaries to some books of the New Testament,[43] from Cyril's apologetic work *Contra Julianum,*[44] from his *Epist. ad Calosyrium*[45] and from the *Homilia X in coenam mysticam.*[46] In the final section of his work Struckmann gives an interpretative summary of Cyril's teaching on the Eucharist.[47] On the basis of his study, Struckmann comes to the conclusion that, for Cyril of Alexandria, that which is received in the Eucharist is fully identical with the glorifed body of Christ, not only according to operation and effect but also according to essence or substance. The exalted and glorified body of the God-Man is really and substantially present in the holy meal.[48]

Struckmann's work has the virtue of anchoring Cyril's utterances on the Eucharist in a fairly broad exegetical and dogmatic context in which the voices of other Fathers of the Church are heard—though not extensively. Struckmann also links Cyril's teaching on the Eucharist to his controversy with the School of Antioch and with Nestorius. He relates Cyril's teaching on the Eucharist to his basic dogmatic presuppositions on the Incarnation—although he does not spell out this relationship in any great detail.

In this sense Struckmann can be said to have produced a source book on Cyril's eucharistic theology. Nevertheless, his work tends to be a tabulation and paraphrasing of texts rather than a thoroughgoing analysis of Cyril's eucharistic theology. This tendency to collect and tabulate is both the strength and the weakness of Struckmann's work. He provides a lot of material but his treatment of this material is not exciting. In this respect the two shorter works by Steitz and Michaud are much more spirited. Struckmann's method of presentation of his material and his analysis are not provocative. He piles proof upon proof for his thesis with a very minimal amount of analytical and critical work to accompany this task of collecting proof-texts.

5.6 Other Studies on Cyril's Eucharistic Theology

The writer is aware of the fact that E. Weigl's *Die Heilslehre des hl. Cyrill von Alexandrien* and H. du Manoir de Juaye's work *Dogme et spiritualité chez saint Cyrille d'Alexandrie* contain sections on Cyril's teaching on the Eucharist.[49] However, the writer does not intend to take up these works in the present context since they do not deal with Cyril's eucharistic theology in a specifically polemical frame of reference–not as regards the mode of the presence of Christ in the Eucharist in any case. The writer feels that this is also the case with Henry Chadwick's *Eucharist and Christology in the Nestorian Controversy.* Although this penetrating study is set within a polemical frame of reference as far as Christology is concerned, it does not embark primarily upon the task of defining the mode of the presence of Christ in the Eucharist.[50] To our knowledge, no extensive study of Cyril's eucharistic theology by an Orthodox theologian is available in any of the modern literary languages of our day.[51]

With these comments we have come to the end of our brief survey of studies on Cyril's teaching on the mode of the presence of Christ in the Eucharist. What are we then to think of this aspect of Cyril's eucharistic theology? What exactly did Cyril teach on this subject? Is the flesh which the faithful receive in the Eucharist fully identical with the glorified body of Christ, not only according to operation and effect, but also according to essence and substance? Or is the presence of Christ in the Eucharist to be understood only as a dynamic, spiritual presence capable of being appropriated by faith and not directly by the act of eating the consecrated bread and drinking the consecrated wine?

5.7 Element of Ambiguity in Cyril's Treatment of the Subject of the Presence of Christ in the Eucharist

That scholars should be so sharply divided on this issue is perhaps not altogether surprising. Cyril's treatment of the question as to what exactly happens to the elements of bread and wine in the consecration is sometimes characterized by ambiguity. This ambiguity can be regarded as the result of the convergence of different currents in Cyril's theology.

5.8 Increased Use of Variations of 'Pneuma' in the Context of the Eucharistic Liturgy

In the first place, the student of Cyril cannot fail to notice that the Alexandrian Patriarch resorts to a marked increase in the use of variations of the term 'pneuma' when he enunciates the implications of the Incarnation in the context of

the eucharistic liturgy. He describes the Eucharist as 'spiritual blessing' (εὐλογία πνευματική),[52] spiritual worship (πνευματική λατρεία),[53] spiritual burnt offering (ὁλοκαύτωμα πνευματικόν)[54] and spiritual nurture (πνευματική εὐτροφία).[55] He further maintains that one aspect of the participation of the faithful in the eucharistic meal as well as one aspect of the vivification of the faithful in the Eucharist occurs 'spiritually' (πνευματικῶς).[56] How is one to account for this apparently sudden shift to a preoccupation with the Spirit in Cyril's otherwise Logos-dominated understanding of the Incarnation and its benefits?

It would be fair to state that this shift indicates not that Cyril has changed his basic Christological emphasis but that he has moved on to new pastures—to an exposition of the Church's heritage of worship with its specific concepts and terms. When Cyril begins to expound on what occurs in the eucharistic liturgy, he lets his vocabulary fall in step with the standard stock of concepts and words which Alexandrian Fathers before him had used in expounding on the liturgy. So much so that one gets the impression that a lot of what Cyril says in connection with the liturgy is a repetition of set phrases and concepts—except when he sees the spectre of Nestorius and Antiochene Christology also in the realm of the Eucharist. At such times, his Logos-dominated arguments on the Incarnation come to life again.

5.9 Use of 'Pneuma' in the Context of the Eucharist: Reflection of an Exegetical Emphasis

It should also be pointed out that Cyril's references to the Holy Spirit in the context of the liturgy are reflections primarily of an *exegetical* emphasis rather than a *dogmatic* emphasis in his theology. Robert L. Wilken has rightly indicated that the Johannine idea of 'worship in spirit and in truth' is one of the exegetical themes which run throughout Cyril's writings.[57] It is this theme that underlines most of what Cyril says concerning the role of the Holy Spirit in the eucharistic liturgy. In this respect Cyril stands in a long exegetical tradition in which the Eucharist was regarded as a *sacrifice* of a far more refined nature than the sacrifice of the Old Covenant. Cyril's use of terms like 'pneumatic' and 'mystical' in the context of the eucharistic liturgy is very often a way of underlining the superiority of the Eucharist to the carnal sacrifices of the time of the Law.[58]

5.10 Cyril's Theology of the Incarnation as a Key to an Understanding of the Mode of Christ's Presence in the Eucharist

It appears to us that on the question of the mode of Christ's presence in the Eucharist, Cyril's eucharistic theology developes more out of his theology of the Incarnation–out of his insistence on the inseparability of the divine and human natures–than out of a detailed spelling out of the inter-relationship between the concepts of '*pneuma*' and '*soma*'.[59] We feel that it is already at this stage of the game that those scholars who argue about the mode of Christ's presence in the Eucharist in terms of an accentuated distinction between '*soma*' and '*pneuma*' go wrong.

It is obvious from Cyril's writings that he wanted the somatic and pneumatic aspects of the Incarnate Word to be maintained in an inseparable and unconfused harmony. In this respect Cyril's interpretation of the Incarnation and his eucharistic theology coincide–and are in harmony.

For Cyril Christ is *One* precisely because divine and human, Spirit and flesh are united in Him inseparably and harmoniously, without confusion or change. In the same way, any reference to Christ's presence and mode of operation in the Eucharist is to be conceived of as something comprehensive of both the pneumatic and somatic modes of operation of Christ in the Eucharist.

To imply, as Michaud seems to do, that Christ's mode of presence in the Eucharist is to be identified primarily with the pneumatic mode of participation is in fact to turn a deaf ear to Cyril's persistent cry that the faithful participate in and are vivified in two manners: *σωματικῶς* and *πνευματικῶς*. Cyril brings out this point quite clearly in his commentary on Luke 22:19ff. After speaking of Christ's dwelling in the faithful through the Eucharist by the Holy Ghost as God or in a way befitting God, Cyril speaks distinctly of *another way* in which Christ is in the faithful.[60] This *other way* is a clear reference to the somatic mode of the believers' participation in the Eucharist.

It is true, there is a sense in which even this 'other way'–this somatic mode of the faithful's participation in the Eucharist–is designated 'pneumatic'. However, 'pneumatic' does not mean absence of *σῶμα*. Such a view would imply Docetism on a sacramental level. Cyril cannot be accused of Docetism.

The somatic mode is *another* mode–which stands not in opposition to but in distinction from the pneumatic mode. Cyril brings out this fact in his commentary on John 15. As branches the faithful share in Christ *not only* on the level of the affections *but also* on the level of a physical participation (*μέθεξις φυσική*).[61]

5.11 Critique of the Views of Steitz and Michaud

In the last analysis, the views of Steitz and Michaud on the question of the presence of Christ in the Eucharist—as well as their views on the manner of the participation of the faithful in the eucharistic meal—reflect an unpreparedness to transfer the full implications of Cyril's doctrine of the Incarnation and the role of the human nature in it into the realm of the eucharistic liturgy.

It can be affirmed that, by and large, Cyril and the Fathers of the Church in the East often described the presence and work of the Exalted Christ in His Church, in the lives of the faithful and in the Eucharist, through expressions like *πνευματική, μυστική, πνευματικῶς* and *μυστικῶς*. Fathers both in Alexandria and its rival Antioch used the attributes *μυστική* and *πνευματική* to describe the Church, the table on which the bread and wine of the eucharistic meal were placed, the Eucharist itself understood as food and the Eucharist understood as sacrifice.[62]

Are these terms then to be understood in a strictly pneumatological sense—in a sense which would exclude the somatic aspect of the presence and work of the Exalted Christ?

Cyril insists that following the Incarnation the Incarnate Word and His body are inseparable. Cyril's Christ is never so spiritualized that He ceases to be somatic. The designations *πνευματική* and *μυστική* as used by Cyril as descriptions of the consecrated bread and wine in the eucharistic liturgy are to be understood in a sense which encompasses both the somatic and pneumatic realities through which the Exalted Christ is present in the Eucharist.

5.12 The Somatic Mode of Christ's Presence in the Eucharist: A Corollary of Cyril's Doctrine of the Incarnation

That the body of the Incarnate Word plays a central role in Cyril's eucharistic theology cannot be gainsaid. It is only logical to assume that the somatic mode of man's vivification through the Eucharist—a corollary of Cyril's theology of Incarnation—plays an equally important role in Cyril's eucharistic theology. Whether Cyril used language that made this concern clear can be debated. Nevertheless, one who is aware of the effort Cyril puts into applying his theology of Incarnation into his eucharistic theology cannot lightly accept the view that Cyril did not teach a participation in the body and blood of Christ believed to be present substantially and essentially—even if this presence is designated as pneumatic or mystical.

There is also a soteriological reason for doubting that Cyril taught only a spiritual, dynamic presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist. He argues in effect that God has prepared a mode of vivification 'tailoured' just for the body.[63] This means that in the Eucharist there must be a mode of presence appropriate to the body. This is the cumulative impression that we get from

Cyril's repeated use of the word *σωματικῶς* in describing the vivifying role of Christ in the Eucharist.[64]

Cyril does not know and is not prepared to know a divided Christ, a Christ split into Spirit and flesh, God and Man. He finds an unreduced, an unabbreviated Christ on all levels of his theology—including his understanding of that which happens in the course of the eucharistic liturgy.

We have pointed out the fact that in interpreting Cyril's understanding of the mode of Christ's presence in the Eucharist, Steitz makes an intriguing distinction. According to Steitz, Cyril wanted to hold fast to the real presence and the real eating of the body and blood of Christ in the Sacrament, but the consecrated bread and wine are present and are received by the communicants not according to their substance but rather dynamically, i.e. according to their power and effect.[65]

Steitz's is a very fine distinction but we feel that Cyril was not in the habit of making such distinctions. For Cyril, it is the *whole* Christ, Spirit and flesh who is present and is received in the Eucharist though He is received in two different manners.

5.13 Closing Remarks

With this chapter we have come to the end of our treatment of Cyril's eucharistic theology as expounded in the context of the eucharistic liturgy. The rest of our work will be devoted to an elaboration of Cyril's teaching on the gift of life bestowed by the Eucharist.

Notes on Chapter Five

1 Steitz 1867 235–245.
2 Harnack 1887 438
3 Loofs 1896 52–55.
4 Michaud 1902 599–614; 675–692.
5 Baur 1865 415f.
6 Thomasius 1874 419.
7 Batiffol (1st ed. 1905) 1930 466ff.
8 Struckmann 1910 151ff.
9 Mahé 1907 677–697
10 Steitz 1867 242. Steitz's polemic was directed against F.C Baur who, in Steitz's view, had maintained that Cyril's identification of the bread in the Eucharist with the Logos or the flesh of the Logos was reason enough to recognize the makings of the Roman Catholic teaching of transubstantiation of the eucharistic bread and wine. Steitz felt that Baur's conclusion was not only a basic misunderstanding but also evidence of a fragmentary and incomplete study of this old writer (i.e. Cyril). (".. nicht nur ein grundliches Misverstandnis, sondern auch der Beweis eines fragmentarischen und unvollstandigen Studiums dieses alten Schriftstellers ") Ibid 241.
11 *Lc* 22 19ff (PG 72, 912A)
12 Steitz 1867 242.
13 Ibid.
14 Ibid 243
15 M. Richard has shown that this homily is by Theophilus, Cyril's uncle. Richard 1937 46–56.
16 Steitz 1867 243.
17 Ibid 244.
18 Ibid
19 Michaud 1902 599–614; 675–692.
20 Ibid. 199.
21 Ibid. 599
22 Ibid. 609
23 Ibid. 599.
24 Ibid. 601.
25 Ibid. 606
26 Ibid. 610
27 Ibid.
28 Ibid 676–677, **690.**
29 Ibid. 677
30 Ibid. 679.
31 Ibid. 680–681.
32 Ibid. 681.
33 Ibid. 683
34 Mahé 1907 677–697.
35 Ibid 677
36 Ibid., quoting *fr.Mt.* 26:27 **(PG 72, 452C).**
37 Ibid. 689.
38 Ibid. 692
39 Struckmann 1910.
40 Ibid 3–19.
41 Ibid. 20–79
42 Ibid 81–112.
43 Ibid. 112–124.

44 Ibid 124–127.
45 Ibid. 127–130.
46 Ibid. 130–138.
47 Ibid. 139–161
48 Ibid. 151. Struckmann maintains, "... nur weil dies Fleisch ein verklärtes ist, heisst es „geistige" (πνευματική) Eulogie" Ibid. 156
49 These works have the virtue of incorporating Cyril's eucharistic theology into an overall theological system–looked at, it must be underlined, with Catholic eyes.
50 Chadwick's article sheds valuable light on the Christological basis for Cyril's eucharistic theology and spells out Cyril's fear of the possible repercussions of the controversy with Nestorius–for the understanding of the Eucharist.
51 Since the writer has no knowledge of Romanian he has not been in a position to say what points J. Caraza emphasizes in his study on *The Eucharistic Doctrine of St. Cyril of Alexandria*. Caraza 1968 528–542.
52 *ador* 6 (PG 68, 416D–417A), *fr Mt*. 26·27 (PG 72, 452C) By far the most common designation for the Eucharist in Cyril's writings is 'mystical eulogy' (εὐλογία μυστική), *glaph. Gen* 1 (PG 69, 29BC); *glaph. Lev*. 6 26 (PG 69, 552C); *Hab* 3.7 (PG 71, 917B /Pusey II 140 l.-19–141 l.2/), *Rom* 8.3 (PG 74, 820B/Pusey III 213 l.8–l.12/).
53 *Zach* 11 7 (PG 72, 188B)
54 *Am* 5·22 (PG 71, 505D–508A). Cyril also speaks of a 'spiritual bringing of gifts' (δωροφορίαι πνευματικαί) *ador* 2 (PG 68, 229BC) The same idea about the spiritual nature of the eucharistic sacrifice comes in expressions like 'a mystical service of offerings' (μυστική ἱερουργία) *glaph. Gen*. 2 (PG 69, 109C) or simply 'mystical offering' (μυστική θυσία) *ador*. 3 (PG 68, 284B).
55 *Ps*. 22·5 (PG 69, 841C) Cyril also speaks of the Eucharist as a 'spiritual table' or a 'mystical table' (πνευματική/μυστική τράπεζα) Ibid
56 In what sense then does Cyril use the adverb πνευματικῶς which recurs often in his description of the manners of the vivification of the faithful in the Eucharist?

A clue to the answer to this question is perhaps to be found in certain words which Cyril sometimes uses immediately following the adverb πνευματικῶς. These are expressions like 'as God' (ὡς Θεός), 'divinely' (Θεϊκῶς) or 'in a manner befitting God' (Θεοπρεπῶς). See Struckmann 1909 144f. These expressions suggest that Cyril's use of the concept of πνεῦμα in this connection refers primarily to the fact that God is Spirit (Jn 4 24) and that the Word Incarnate mediates this basic quality possessed in common by all three Persons of the Trinity. God who is Spirit operates in a spiritual way

Cyril writes, "In the Eucharist the Son is in us corporeally as man (ὡς ἄνθρωπος) .. and spiritually as God (ὡς Θεός) by the energy of His own Spirit .. (τῇ τοῦ ἰδίου Πνεύματος ἐνεργείᾳ)." *Jo* 11 (PG 74, 564CD /Pusey III 2. l 27–3 l.3/) Cyril expresses the same thought when he writes, "Christ must be mingled with us in a manner befitting God (Θεοπρεπῶς) through the Holy Spirit just as (He is mingled) with our bodies through His holy flesh and His precious blood." *fr. Mt*. 26.27 (PG 72, 452D).

Still another variation of this theme reads, "As God He vivifies us, not only by giving (us) a share in the Holy Spirit but also by setting before (us) the assumed flesh of the Son of Man to eat." *apol Thds* 38 (PG 76, 1189B) Thus in vivifying the faithful spiritually, Christ operates in a manner which is proper to His divinity

That Cyril also has the Third Person of the Trinity in mind when he uses the term πνευματικῶς is made clear by the fact that he often qualifies this adverb with the words 'through the Holy Spirit' The use of this term in Cyril's eucharistic theology seems to cover two main areas: the divinity in general understood as 'Spirit' and the Third Person of the Trinity understood in a specific sense as 'Spirit'.

However, there is a third area to which the adverb 'spiritually' applies. It is used of *man*, the recipient of vivification, who is both σῶμα and πνεῦμα. God, who is Spirit and gives Himself spiritually, is received spiritually. It is in this sense that St Paul writes that the things of the Spirit of God are discerned spiritually (1 Cor 2·14). When Cyril uses the term πνευματικῶς as a description of one of the manners of man's vivification in the Eucharist, he is pointing to a realm in the spiritual life where God's Spirit meets man's spirit

Thus commenting on Luke 22:19ff. Cyril writes, "Sending up thanksgivings and glorifying

the Son with the Holy Spirit, in the same way that we (glorify) God and the Father, we approach the holy tables, believing that we are made living and blessed both corporeally and spiritually " *Lc* (PG 72, 908BC)

The terms πνευματικῶς, σωματικῶς reflect not only the *two modes of operation of Christ* in the faithful who participate in the Eucharist, but also the *two modes of reception* of Christ's vivifying work Cyril also uses other terms to express the two modes in which the faithful receive Christ's vivifying work in the Eucharist Thus commenting on 1 Cor 6 15, he writes, "We have him in us sensibly (αισθετῶς) and mentally or intellectually (νοητῶς) He dwells in our hearts through the Holy Spirit, and we share in His holy flesh, and are (thus) sanctified in a double manner (διττῶς) " 1 *Cor* 6 15 (PG 74, 869CD /Pusey III 213 1 8–12/) The same thought is developed in his sermon on Luke 22 17–22, where he has the following to say about the two modes of participation in Christ in the Eucharist, "To be made partakers of Christ, both *in tellectually* and *by our senses*, fills us with every blessing For He dwells in us, first, by the Holy Ghost, and we are His abode, according to that which was said of old by one of the holy prophets 'For I will dwell in them, He says, and lead them and I will be to them a God, and they shall be to Me a people ' But He is also within us in another way by means of our partaking in the oblation of bloodless offerings, which we celebrate in the churches " Smith 1859 664

Just as at creation man was made a composite of body and soul, and just as God breathed His Spirit on man's face, thus granting him a participation in the divine nature, so are those who believe in Christ and participate in the sacraments, vivified in a bodily and a spiritual manner Thus God adapts His redemptive work not only to His divinity—but also to man's 'humanity'—not only to His role as Creator but also to man's status as a creature In Cyril the study of soteriology—of which his theology of the sacraments is an essential part—is inseparably linked with the study of anthropology

In conclusion it can be affirmed that the term πνευματικῶς as used by Cyril in connection with the Eucharist covers an area where Christology, Pneumatology and anthropology overlap

57 Wilken 1971 3

58 The dimension of sacrifice is very pronounced in Cyril's understanding of the Eucharist Struckmann 1909 155ff Like many other Fathers before him, Cyril based this aspect of his eucharistic theology on Malachi 1 11 "From the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same My name is great among the Gentiles, and in every place incense is offered unto My name, and a pure offering for My name is great among the Gentiles, saith the Lord of Hosts " The use of this text for expounding on the Eucharist goes as far back as the *Didache* Justin Martyr and Irenaeus interpret the Malachi passage in the same way Tertullian uses it as a basis for the spiritual sacrifices of the prayer and praise and thanksgiving of Christians, whereas Cyprian recognizes in it the new sacrifice of the Christian Church (On this subject see Stone 1909 I 42ff) All these nuances have found their way into Cyril's eucharistic theology Commen ting on Zachariah 11 7, Cyril writes, "God now feeds His worshippers, who have been justified by faith and sanctified in the Spirit with legal and evangelical oracles, neither persuading them to slay oxen, nor teaching them to practice the bringing of food prescribed by the law, but rather persuading them to fulfil the power of the sacrificial service in Spirit in the manner of an un bloody sacrifice For the shadow is changed into truth, and those things which were types have been remodelled into the refinement of the life which is in Christ and the Gospel " *Zach* 11 7 (PG 72, 188B /Pusey II 456 1 19–457 1 2/)

The virtues which Cyril names among the sacrifices brought forward by the faithful are reminiscent of Paul's 'fruits of the Spirit' enumerated in Galatian 5 Cyril's idea of the Christian life as a sweet smelling sacrifice offered to God is clearly of Pauline origin See *Juln* 10 (PG 76, 1029D–1032D)

The overall impression that Cyril gives the reader when he speaks of the Eucharist as worship and sacrifice is that it is the Spirit who constitutes the dominant note of this aspect of his eucharistic theology This does not imply that Cyril regards Christ as a passive element in the context of the Eucharist understood as a sacrifice brought forward by the faithful The Exalted Christ is already in the faithful through the Spirit Thus those who come to offer a spiritual sacrifice are not only indwelt by the Spirit, the third Person in the Trinity, by virtue of Baptism, but also by Christ through the Spirit As Cyril writes, "Much more gladly does God accept and approve the sacrifice of faith, the spiritual burnt offering, brought forward on the feasts of Epiphanies For it is not we who make ourselves fragrant, but rather He who is in us through the Spirit, namely Christ " *Amos* 5 22 (PG 71, 505D–508A)

59 Cyril has a clearly defined dichotomist anthropology He is known to value the soul or spirit of man much higher than man's body However, this gradation does not enter His understanding of Christ Nor does it affect his understanding of the presence of Christ in the Eucharist in a decisive manner

60 *Lc* 22 17f (Homily CXLII, trans Smith, *LFC* 1859 664)

61 *Jo* 10 (PG 74, 341D /Pusey II 542 121f /)

62 It is obvious that the use of the word *πνευματικος* as a description of the Eucharist by the Church Fathers of the East is of Pauline origin The Apostle calls the eucharistic bread *βρῶμα πνευματικον*, and the eucharistic cup *πομα πνευματικον* (1 Cor 10 3–4) For the patristic usage of the word in connection with the Eucharist see Lampe 1961 1104–1105 Macarius the Egyp tian calls the Eucharist *μυστικη προσφορα* *de charit* 29 (PG 34, 932C) Athanasius calls the Eucharist *πνευματικη τροφη* According to him this food is given to the faithful spiritually (*πνευματικῶς*) *opp pars 1 hist et dogm* (PG 26, 668AB) Cyril calls participation in the Eucharist *μυστικη μεταληψις* (a mystical participation) *Jo* 11 (PG 74, 560B)

63 A basic presupposition underlying Cyril's sacramental theology is that body and soul must be sanctified or vivified in two manners conforming to each nature This view comes to the fore in what Cyril says as regards both Baptism and the Eucharist Thus commenting on John 3 5, "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God", Cyril writes, "Since man is composite and not simple in (his) nature, being compound out of two, that is to say the sensible body and intellectual soul, he will require a two fold healing for his new birth related to both (of the things) pointed out For the spirit of man is sanctified by the Spirit, and the body again by the sanctified water" *Jo* 2 1 (PG 73, 244D)

This same line of reasoning is evident in what Cyril says about the Eucharist Commenting on John 6 54, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink His blood, ye have not life in you", Cyril writes, "For it was necessary that not only the soul be recreated into the newness of life through the Holy Spirit, but that this gross and earthly body be sanctified and called to incorruptibility by a grosser and kindred participation" *Jo* 4 (PG 73, 580A)

64 The terms *σωματικῶς*, *ως ανθρωπος*, *ανθρωπινως* all refer to the Son's *human* mode of opera tion in the Eucharist In distinction to the type of union based on the Incarnation which procures for the entire human race a solidarity with the Incarnate Word, the eucharistic union which Cyril designates *σωματικος* gives the faithful a union to divinity itself The Eulogy assures the faithful the gift of the life of the Word of God, of the divine nature, of the glorious life of sanctity, of grace, of life incorruptible The ground for such benefits is that the body of Christ is one with life of God itself, it is no less than the Spirit of Christ which is given to the communicant The body of Christ, though not consubstantial with the Word, forms no less than one being with the Word, in whom it possesses the divine life In the same way those who, thanks to the Eulogy, receive the body of Christ, share the very life of the Word of God (See Langevin 1956 313f) Thus the mode of participation which Cyril designates *σωματικῶς* also mediates divine life to the faithful By virtue of the union of the natures, the material body of Christ is elevated to the sphere of the spiritual to the extent that it participates in the attributes and prerogatives of divini ty

Christ's two modes of operation in the believer through the Eucharist are not exclusive of each other In a fundamental sense there is only one basic source of vivification in the Eucharist It is Cyril's insistent assertion that it is only God who is Life by nature, who can vivify In this sense, the human mode of operation of Christ in the Eucharist is totally conditioned by and dependent upon the divine mode of operation It is the same divine *ενεργεια* which vivifies through both the somatic and pneumatic modes of operation of Christ in the Eucharist

65 Steitz 1867 242

CHAPTER SIX

The Eucharist: Bestower of Union with the Life of the Incarnate Word

6.1 The Eucharist—a Participation in the Life of Christ

To participate in the Eucharist is to participate in the life of Christ.[1] As we have shown in the last chapter, the question as to whether Cyril regarded the presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist as a substantial, corporeal presence or only as a dynamic and spiritual presence has been, quite understandably, debated by theologians. However, as to the utter realism of the operation and effects of the Eucharist in the lives of the faithful, Cyril leaves us in no doubt. For him the Eucharist is food and drink.[2] It is 'life-giving seed' and a 'seed of immortality'.[3] It operates like yeast.[4] Its effects are not only spiritual but also physical. The taste of the Eucharist is as sure a contact with the living Christ as was the touch of His hands when He healed Peter's mother-in-law or when He raised the daughter of Jairus or the son of the widow of Nain. Through the Eucharist the faithful become concorporeal (*σύσσωμοι*) with Christ.[5] They become partakers of the nature of God through the Holy Ghost.[7] The faithful are mixed (*συνανακίρνᾶσθαι*) with Christ on a level befitting man.[8] The former union is effected through the Holy Spirit and the latter through the body and blood of Christ. Christ is in the faithful not only by a relation conceived of through a certain disposition alone, but also by a natural participation (*μέθεξις φυσική*).[9] Just as melting two pieces of wax by fire results in one thing out of two, so are those who participate in the body and blood of Christ united to Him and He to them.[10]

6.2 Participation as *μετάληψις*

A very frequent designation for the union effected between Christ and the faithful by the Eucharist is *μετάληψις*. Cyril writes, "Let us approach the divine and heavenly grace and ascend unto the holy participation (*εἰς ἁγίαν μετάληψιν*) of (in) Christ".[11] In the Eucharist the faithful are commingled and mixed with Christ (*συνανακιρναμένος, αναμιγνυμένος*) through participation in His body.[12] Christ implants (*ἐμφυτεύειν*) His own life in the faithful who participate in His own flesh.[13]

6.3 Other Designations for Participation

Cyril also used terms which are variants of μέθεξις very frequently to describe the participation of the faithful in Christ in the Eucharist.[14] At times he says simply that Christ, who is Life, is in the faithful through the Eucharist. He also speaks of Christ dwelling (ἐνοικεῖν) in the believer bodily by the fellowship (κοινωνία) of His holy flesh.[15] He sometimes speaks of Christ settling (κατοικεῖν) in the faithful as 'Life and life-giving'.[16] It is through the holy participation (μετάληψις) of Christ that the faithful overcome the fraud of the devil, being fellows (κοινωνοί) of the nature of God, and that they ascend unto life and incorruptibility.[17]

For Cyril, the Eucharist provides the most intimate type of union that is possible with Christ. It is a sharing in the Life of the Word made flesh—not only on a spiritual level but also on a physical level. To receive the Eucharist is to be planted into the Life of the God-Man.

6.4 The Table—a Place of Restoration

Cyril regarded the Christian life as a battle against the forces of evil and the flesh. The table of the Eucharist is for him a place of restoration, rehabilitation, comfort, forgiveness and equipment for the fight against the passions of the flesh. It is a place where the power of the Logos confronts and overcomes the strivings of the flesh. It is a place where divine power is pitted against the power of the devil and the flesh.

In the Eucharist Christ enters the lives of the faithful and lulls the law which rages in the members of the flesh. He kindles their piety towards God and destroys their passions. He does not impute their transgressions to them but rather heals their sicknesses. As a Good Shepherd, He binds up the one who is crushed and raises the one who has fallen.[18] Cyril teaches: "Let Him then take hold of us or let us take hold of Him by the mystical eulogy, in order that He may free us from the sickness of the soul and from the assault and violence of demons."[19]

When Christ enters the faithful and when they receive Him into their minds and hearts, He quenches the fever of unbefitting pleasures, raises up the faithful and makes them strong also in spiritual things, so that they may be able to minister to Him by doing those things which please Him.[20] Cyril continues, "But the mystical table, the flesh of Christ, makes us strong against passions and demons. For Satan fears those who receive the mysteries with reverence and piety".[21]

In short, through a participation in the Eucharist, the faithful receive what the anaphora which is ascribed to Serapion prays for, ". . . and make all who partake to receive a medicine of life, for the healing of every sickness and for strengthening of all advancement and virtue, not for condemnation, O God of truth, and not for censure and reproach."[22]

6.5 The Eucharist — Unifier of the Faithful

Parallel to the thought of the Eucharist as a creator of union between Christ and the faithful, Cyril recognizes a union established among the faithful on the basis of their participation in the one body of Christ. In other words, he brings out not only the 'vertical' but also the 'horizontal' aspect of the relationship which participation in the body and blood of Christ establishes. He writes, "Blessing, through the mystery of the Eucharist, those who believe on Him, He makes us of the same body with Himself and with each other by one body, i.e. His own."[23] Who can, asks Cyril, sever and separate from a physical union with one another those who through the one holy body of Christ are united into oneness with Christ?[24]

Cyril thus deduces the unity of the faithful from the oneness of the eucharistic body of Christ in which they all participate. The Eucharist is for him a means designed by the wisdom of the Only-begotten and the counsel of the Father in order to enable the faithful to join together and be blended into unity with God and with each other in spite of their being distinct individuals.

Those who are united through their common participation in the Eucharist are described by Cyril as 'concorporeal' (*σύσσωμοι*). Cyril calls this union 'a physical union' (*ἕνωσις φυσική*).[25] Thus the faithful are incorporated into a 'physical union' with Christ and with each other. One gets the impression that in this area Cyril begins to use the same sort of language which he had used in describing the union of the human and divine natures in Christ. Nevertheless Cyril states quite clearly that in comparison to the union of the natures in the Incarnation, the relationship established between Christ and the faithful in the Eucharist is a 'relative participation' a *μέθεξις σχετική*.[26]

In short, Christ is the bond of union not only between God and man but also between man and man. The fact that He is consubstantial with the Godhead makes Him the author of a union between God and man. The fact that He is consubstantial union with mankind makes Him the author of a union between man and man.[27]

6.6 The Spirit—Unifier of the Faithful

This unity of the faithful in the Eucharist has not only a Christological but also a Pneumatological dimension. Cyril teaches: "As the power of the holy flesh makes those in whom it exists members of the same body, so does the one Spirit, who is indivisible and abides in all, bind all together into a spiritual unity."[28] This teaching is an underlining of the two modes of Christ's vivifying work in the Eucharist—the modes which he designates (*πνευματικῶς* and *σωματικῶς*) now reflected on an ecclesiological level. The power of the holy flesh makes one body of those who partake of it. This is the aspect of the unity established by the

Eucharist among the faithful, which corresponds to Christ's 'somatic' mode of operation. The Spirit of God who abides in all as undivided (*ἀμέριστον*) brings the same people into a spiritual unity. This is a reflection of the unity created by Christ in the Eucharist when He operates *πνευματικῶς*.[29]

6.7 The Eucharist and the Unity of the Faithful in the Trinity

Thus, as uniters of the faithful with God and with one another, the Son and the Spirit operate in an inseverable unity, in spite of the fact that, by virtue of the Incarnation, the somatic manner of operation remains the unique privilege of the Son. Cyril goes still further and brings out the *Trinitarian* dimension of the union created among the faithful through their participation in the Eucharist. We are all therefore one, he teaches, in the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, also in the fellowship of the holy body of Christ.[30]

6.8 Conditions for Reception of the Eucharist

Who is worthy to come to the eucharistic meal? What conditions does Cyril put forward for a right reception of the holy meal?

To those born of God, he teaches, participation in the mysteries of Christ and the grace (received) through Baptism shall become a spiritual blessing.[31] To those, on the other hand, who are still double-minded (*τοῖς διψύχουσιν*) those who are moved forward into apostasy, the Eucharist becomes wrath and judgment.[32]

To those who love God truly, the holy mysteries shall become unto blessing. Such participants shall be set free from a state of weakness which makes them prone to do evil and to be escorted into cowardice. For every God-loving and holy soul is very fruitful, productive and richly equipped with holy fruits, with the objects of pride (*αὐχήμασιν*) arising out of goodness.[33]

An unholy one, at any rate one who is openly at fault, is debarred from having a share in the holy food.[34] Those, however, who are guilty of weaknesses hidden in the inner mind may partake of the blessing of Christ. However their participation cannot, according to Cyril, be a participation of the same order as that of the 'holy ones', which is a participation unto the granting of sanctification, a stability of mind and a permanence which is joined to all that which is best.[35]

Those whom Cyril describes as guilty of weaknesses hidden in the inner mind share in the blessing of Christ in a manner befitting the morally weak, a manner of participation which helps them to avoid evil, to stop sinning, to die to pleasures and to recover their spiritual vigour.[36]

6.9 Obligations Resulting from Participation in the Eucharist

It is obvious that there are obligations arising out of a participation in the Eucharist. If one has partaken of Christ in the Eucharist, he must walk as His. It is necessary, writes Cyril, that the one who has become participant in Christ through a sharing of His holy flesh and blood, also have His mind, and that he love to walk in virtuous actions.[37] One of the conditions for participating in the Eucharist is that the faithful show, through self-control (*ἐγκράτεια*), that they are stronger than the pleasures of the flesh.[38]

6.10 Interrelationship Between the Preconditions for Participation and the Blessings Received in the Eucharist

Thus there is an interaction between what the Eucharist bestows by way of blessings to the faithful, and the spiritual state or condition with which the faithful are expected to approach the Eucharist. On the one hand Cyril can speak of the Eucharist as a help, as a source of the virtues which become manifest in the fruits of the Spirit. On the other hand the presence or absence of these virtues in the life of the participant becomes a condition not only for the reception of the Eucharist but also for the measure of blessing that the Eucharist can mediate to the communicant.

Nevertheless, Cyril gives the upper hand not to the spiritual state of the communicant but rather to the Eucharist itself as a gift and a help in the conduct of a virtuous life. He urges the faithful, "If we long for eternal life, if we wish to have the giver of immortality in ourselves, let us not, like some of the more heedless do, refuse to be blessed, not let the devil, deep in his wickedness, lay for us a trap and a snare, (in the form of) a hurtful reverence (*ἐπιζήμιος εὐλάβεια*)".[39]

What Cyril sets out as preconditions for the reception of the Eucharist are not to be regarded as preconditions for vivification—a work which is God's. They are rather to be regarded as part of a total state of readiness, as part of an attitude of a faith which takes God's work so seriously that it does not remain indifferent to the condition in which it approaches the holy tables.

Commenting on John 6:56 Cyril, in replying to the one who says, "I, having examined myself, see that I am not worthy", writes as follows: "When, then, will you be worthy . . . when will you present yourself to Christ? If you are always to be frightened away by your stumblings, you will never cease from stumbling (for 'who can understand his errors' as the holy Psalmist says) and will you not be totally devoid of the sanctification which preserves entirely. Decide then to lead a holier life, in harmony with the Law, and so receive the blessing, believing that it has power to expel, not only death, but also the disease in us."[40]

What Cyril underlines is the need of a positive intention, a desire and a deter-

mination to seek that which the Eucharist offers—in short, faith and a receptive attitude, and not a catalogue of qualifications.

It is true that Cyril took the words 'Holy things to holy men' of the eucharistic liturgy seriously. For him this holiness meant a real holiness, set in motion by Baptism and the indwelling of the Spirit. For him the words 'Holy things to holy men' did not imply a precondition for participation in the Eucharist, based on the spiritual performances of the faithful. They referred to the gift of holiness, to the state of holiness into which those who have been baptized have been ushered. For Cyril to be holy is to have been baptized and to have started showing the fruits of the Spirit in one's life.

6.11 Need of Regular Participation

The process of being vivified through the Eucharist is intimately related to a regular participation in the Eucharist. The vivification mediated through the Eucharist remains valid and developes only as long as the link is maintained through Christ, not only spiritually, but also through a regular act of eating and drinking. Irregularity in coming to the holy meal can mean eventual exclusion from eternal life.

Those who do not receive Jesus through the mystical blessing, teaches Cyril, remain wholly destitute of all share and taste of that life which is sanctification and bliss.[41]

6.12 Journey Motif

Those who are united to Christ and to one another through the Eucharist are pictured as making a spiritual journey through life—a journey whose great goal is the gift of incorruptibility. The character of the Christian life as a journey and the role of the Eucharist in equipping the faithful for this journey is brought out—though indirectly—in Cyril's comment on the Passover as a crossing from one type of life to another. Cyril writes, "We must explain then what it is from which we pass over, and on our journey to what country, and in what manner we effect this journey. Just as Israel was delivered from the tyranny of the Egyptians, and having loosed its neck from the yoke of bondage, was now free; and fleeing from the violence of the tyrant passed with dry feet, in a manner which was wonderful and beyond the power of language to describe, through the midst of the sea, and journeyed onwards to the promised land, so must we too, who have accepted the salvation that is in Christ, be willing no longer to abide in our former faults, nor continue in our evil ways, but manfully cross over the sea, as it were, of the vain trouble of this world, and the tempest of affairs that is in it. We pass over from the love of the flesh to temperance; from our former ignorance to the true knowledge

of God; from wickedness unto virtue; and in hope at least, from the blame of sin unto the glories of righteousness, and from death unto incorruption. The name therefore of the feast on which Emmanuel bore for us the saving cross was the Passover."[42]

The Eucharist is the Christian's 'food and journey provision' along life's way.[43] It is spiritual nourishment which strengthens the soul, enabling her to withstand unclean spirits and misleading teachings. Unlike the Manna which the children of Israel received as food during their journey in the wilderness, the Son is properly and truly the bread of life, and those who have partaken of Him and been in some way blended or mingled with Him through the Eucharist, have become superior to the bonds of death.[44]

Unlike Aaron, Christ, the High Priest of the New Covenant, carries out priestly functions not in a fleshly manner (σαρκικῶς) but according to the power of indestructible life. He feeds the faithful unto unfading life (ἀμάραντος ζωή) by the mystical offerings. We have been enriched, says Cyril, by the bread out of heaven which gives life to the world. We are strengthened in Christ and have springs of pure water in the writing of the holy apostles.[45]

6.13 Wisdom as a Gift of the Eucharist

This spiritual journey on which Christ feeds and equips the faithful with the Eucharist, also includes the gift of wisdom and enlightenment. Commenting on Luke 1:7, "And she laid him in the manger," Cyril writes, "He found man reduced to the level of beasts: therefore is He placed like fodder in a manger, that we, having left off our bestial life, might mount up to that degree of intelligence which befits man's nature; and whereas we were brutish in soul, by now approaching the manger, even His own table, we find no longer fodder, but the bread from heaven which is the body of life."[46] The implication is that the Eucharist turns man away from his brutish nature, from his animal instincts and inclinations, and renews his mind and attitudes.

Cyril also teaches that the perfection (τελείωσις) brought about through Christ in the Eucharist and the power of His mysteries renders the faithful wise.[47]

6.14 Closing Remarks

To participate in the Eucharist is, for Cyril, to have a full share in the Life of the Incarnate Word. It is to be united to God and to the community of those who share in the same bread and cup. The body of Christ, which is the substance of the eucharistic meal, is the link between man and God and between man and man. Through the Eucharist the Christian is nourished and strengthened against the forces of evil. He is endowed with power to fight evil passions. He is renewed in his

mind and attitudes. Above all the Eucharist bestows incorruptbility. We shall turn to this prominent theme of Cyril's eucharistic theology in the following chapter.

Notes on Chapter Six

1 This fact is underlined in all the studies carried out thus far on Cyril's eucharistic doctrine Struckmann writes, "Der Zentralpunkt in fast allen Àusserungen Cyrills uber die 'heilige Nahrung' ist die Vereinigung mit Christus Sie ist die wichtigste Wirkung der hl. Kommunion. " Struckmann 1910 142.

J Mahé comes to a similar conclusion, "Union intime avec le Christ, par suite union entre nous, et vivification de tout notre être, tels sont, d'après saint Cyrille, les inestimables bienfaits de l'eulogie mystique." Mahé 1907 687 See also Elert 1954 29f.

2 The designation of the Eucharist as true food and drink is of Johannine origin (Jn 6·55) and is surely the most common set of categories by which the Fathers of the Church identified the holy meal Origen, Dionysius of Alexandria, Didymus 'the Blind', the writer of the anaphora which bears Serapion's name, Macarius the Egyptian, Athanasius and Chrysostom all spoke frequently of the Eucharist in terms of food and drink. See DTC 1913 1137–1145. See also Stone 1901 I 34ff. On Cyril's use of the categories of food and drink for the Eucharist, see Struckmann 1910 140, 148, 149

3 *Lc.* 22:19ff (PG 72, 912A), *Jo.* 4 (PG 73, 581C). This use of the designation 'seed of immortality' is reminiscent of and seems to be related to the 'medicine of immortality' (*φάρμακον ἀθανασίας*) of Ignatius of Antioch.

4 *Jo.* 4 (PG 73, 584C).

5 *Jo* 11 (PG 74, 560B).

6 Ibid Christ blesses and unites the faithful to Himself and to each other by the instrumentality of His body.

7 *glaph. Gen.* 1 (PG 69, 29BC) After stating that the faithful who participate in the Eucharist become concorporeal with Christ through the mystical eulogy, Cyril goes on to affirm. We are united in another manner because we have become sharers of His divine nature through the Spirit. Cyril of Jerusalem, too, speaks of the faithful being *σύσσωμοι* with Christ through the Eucharist. Cyril of Alexandria goes a step further and affirms that the faithful, too, become *σύσσωμοι* with one another as a result of their participation in the Eucharist. See Elert 1954 29.

8 *fr Mt* 26:27 (PG 72, 452D).

9 *Jo.* 10 (PG 74, 341CD).

10 Ibid.

11 *Jo* 3 (PG 73, 521C).

12 *Jo.* 4 (PG 73, 584BC).

13 *Jo.* 7 and 8 (fragments) (PG 73, 20CD).

14 See Struckman 1910 22 26 31 37 40 41 **inter alia.**

15 *Jo.* 10 (PG 74, 341BC).

16 *I Cor* 6:15 (PG 74, 809CD).

17 *Jo* 3 (PG 73, 521C).

18 Ibid (PG 73, 585A).

19 *Lc.* 4.38 (PG 72, 552BC).

20 *Lc.* (Smith, *LFC* 1869 71).

21 Ibid

22 *Euch. Serap.* (FlP 7/I 63 **Quasten).**

23 *Jo* 11 (PG 74, 560B).

24 Ibid

25 *Jo.* 11 (PG 74, 560BD).

26 *Lc.* 22·19 (PG 72, 909CD).

27 *Jo.* 11 (PG 74, 564D)

28 Ibid. (PG 74, 561AB).

29 Ibid

30 Ibid (PG 74, 561CD).
31 *ador*. 6 (PG 68, 416D).
32 Ibid
33 Ibid (PG 68, 417A).
34 *ador* 12 (PG 68, 793B). Compare Athanasius: "But, 'stretching forth to those things that are to come', let us pray that we may not eat the Passover unworthily, lest we be exposed to dangers. For to those who keep the feast in purity, the Passover is heavenly food, but to those who observe it profanely and contemptuously, it is a danger and reproach." LNPF, Vol. IV, Letter V, 5, 519 1891 (reprint 1971).
35 Ibid (PG 68, 793C).
36 Ibid
37 *ador* 17 (PG 68, 1072A).
38 *Jo*. 3 (PG 73, 521C).
39 *Jo* 4 (PG 73, 584D).
40 Ibid. (PG 73, 584D–585A).
41 Ibid (PG 73, 577AB).
42 *Lc* (Smith 1869 660). In an Easter sermon for 334 Athanasius writes in a similar tone, though he uses fewer words, "For the Passover is indeed abstinence from evil for exercise of virtue, and a departure from death unto life. This may be learnt even from the type of old time. For then they toiled earnestly to pass from Egypt to Jerusalem, but now we depart from death to life; they then passed from Pharaoh to Moses, but now we rise from the devil to the Savior." LNPF, Vol IV, Letter V, 4, 510. 1891 (reprint 1971).
43 Cyril teaches that Christ gives himself as a 'good journey provision' (*ἐφόδιον*), *ador* 7 (PG 68, 501B) Theophilus of Alexandria speaks of the Eucharist as 'a provision of immortality' (*ἐφόδιον αθανασίας*) *hom div* 10 (PG 77, 1016D) Thus it seems that the designation of the Eucharist as 'journey provision' was common in Alexandria.
44 *Ps*. 22:5 (PG 69, 841C).
45 *Amos* (PG 71, 448D–449A).
46 *Lc*. 2·7 (PG 72, 488D).
47 *ador* 3 (PG 68, 285B)

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Eucharist: Bestower of Life Incorruptible

7.1 Incorruptibility—Most Important Gift of the Eucharist

The tyranny of death and corruptibility over man and the defeat of these enemies through the body and blood of Christ is an overriding theme of Cyril's eucharistic theology.[1]

Thus by far the most dominant feature of Cyril's eucharistic theology is his teaching that the Eucharist bestows the gift of incorruptibility. He uses the terms incorruptibility (*ἀφθαρσία*) and immortality (*ἀθανασία*) interchangeably, although it is the term *ἀφθαρσία* which he uses most frequently in connection with the Eucharist.[2]

Cyril maintains that mortal man must participate in the body of Him who is Life by nature if he is to be restored to incorruptibility.[3] This presupposition reflects Cyril's understanding of the implications of the Fall as well as his views on the goal of the Incarnation. The most manifest aspect of the divine image in man is, according to Cyril, incorruptibility. He teaches, "... and the meaning of image is various ... nevertheless, the element of man's likeness to God which is by far the most manifest, is his incorruptibility and indestructibility."[4] Man's disobedience results in his loss of God's Spirit, and consequently of incorruptibility and the life of virtue. Cyril writes, "But he having ... turned aside unto sin ... suffers the loss of the Spirit and so at length became not only subject to corruption but also prone to all sin."[5]

For Cyril, God alone is naturally incorruptible. Every one, except God, receives incorruptibility from another source. In this sense, even the soul is mortal and corruptible. Nevertheless, the soul does not have within itself the seeds of its own destruction. The words, 'dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return' were said to the flesh alone, not to the soul.[6] It is in the light of the particular vulnerability of the body to corruptibility that Cyril writes, "Therefore, that in us which was especially in danger had to be rescued the sooner, and by being intertwined with Life by nature be recalled to incorruptibility."[7] He regards the Incarnation as an underlining of God's concern for the restoration of the body.

In explaining the meaning of incorruptibility, he brings out its moral and not only its physical implications. As Burghardt has put it, "... in his theology corruption implies not the naked fact of death, but death as dominating, tyrannizing savagely over us."[8]

Even though Cyril maintains that the restoration of the image of God in man is

the work of the Spirit,[9] he teaches very clearly that it is through the Incarnation of the Word that this restoration was made possible.[10]

In Christ, he says, we have returned through sanctification to our nature's original beauty, to the divine image.[11] He elaborates on this issue when he writes, "When it pleased God the Father to recapitulate all things in Christ and to refashion to its primal state what had been made, He sent us His only-begotten from heaven... Then it was that He laid hold of prostrate humanity and, freeing us from the bitterness of sin, brought us back through sanctification to kingly honour and virtue's mildness."[12]

7.2 Christ–Victor Over Death

Death which dared to assault (*ἐπιπηδεῖν*) Christ who is 'the body of Life', was defeated and destroyed by Him.[13] It is only in Christ, the One who defeated death in an enfleshed existence, that man can defeat death.

This victory over death is now mediated to the faithful through the Eucharist. For the place, the battle-line at which the unimpeded march of death was checked, was 'the time of the table'. Cyril writes, "From early times, that is, from the first time of the present world, death ravaged those who lived on earth, until the hour of the meal, i.e. until the time of the table. But when the time of the holy table arose for us, that table which is in Christ and is mystical, from which we eat the bread which is from heaven and is life-giving, then death, which of old was fearful and most powerful, was destroyed."[14]

From now on God frightens away death, the destroyer, from the lives of the sanctified by the fact that Christ now dwells in the faithful through the Eucharist as 'Life and as life-giving'. Death cannot, after the appearance of the time of the holy tables, triumph over the faithful.[15]

Through the sacrifice of Christ the flesh is clothed (*ἀμφιέννυσθαι*) with incorruptibility.[16] Christ's holy body keeps together or preserves (*συνέχειν*) unto incorruptibility those bodies with whom it has been mixed through the Eucharist.[17] The dwelling of death in man is replaced by the dwelling of life and immortality. Christ is said to dislodge (*ἀναμοχλεύειν*) death which dwelt in the flesh of man. Christ is said to hide (*ἐναποκρύπτειν*) life in the faithful through His own flesh.[18] He inserts life in the faithful as a seed of immortality (*σπέρμα ἀθανασίας*) which abolishes all the corruptibility which is in man.[19] The Eucharist expells (*ἐξελαύνειν*) death and disposes of (*ἐξιστάναι*) corruption.[20] It vanquishes (*νικεῖν*) corruption totally.[21] The death of Christ puts out of function (*καταργεῖν*) the death which had fallen upon man's members.[22]

Through the Eucharist Christ abides in the faithful and makes them superior to corruptibility, infusing (*ἐγκαθιέναι*) Himself (into them) through His own flesh which is true food.[23] So much so that Cyril can teach that the life-giving blessing (i.e. the Eucharist) transforms (*μεταποιεῖν*) into immortality those who partake of it.[24]

7.3 Incorruptibility—Not a Fullfledged Reality in This Life

Underlying Cyril's eucharistic theology is the presupposition that in this life, incorruptibility is a sign, a promise made fully visible only through one Man—the Incarnate Word. It is a reality which is made visible by the sign of the Eucharist—not considered as an empty sign but as a sign of a reality which nevertheless is not yet available to the faithful as a full-fledged reality. Thus, the Christian's life is, for Cyril, a life 'in Christ'. His incorruptibility is a reality—a full-fledged reality only in Christ. It will be a full-fledged reality also in each individual only in the coming age.[25] In this sense the faithful who participate in incorruptibility through the Eucharist do so still in the midst of an ongoing corruptibility—albeit a defeated corruptibility. The Eucharist is a witness to the resurrection and ascension of human nature in Christ. The life nurtured by the Eucharist has no meaning apart from Christ. The Christian is incorruptible in the firstfruits of incorruptibility—in Christ.

For the Christian, immortality is both a reality of the present life and an object of hope. Cyril writes, "We have been enriched with the unfading hope of immortality, the proud title of sons of God, grace here, and the reign of Christ hereafter."[26]

In this life, incorruptibility and the other gifts implied in the divine image are in the process of being restored. This is the thought which comes out in the words, "Made partakers of the Holy Spirit, we are being transformed (*ἀναστοιχειοῦσθαι*) to the primitive beauty of our nature; the image which we bore at the first is engraved afresh upon our spiritual life, for Christ is formed in us through the Spirit."[27]

In this life all spiritual gifts are given to the faithful in part, in instalments. Only in the coming age will these gifts be theirs in a complete sense. After the resurrection the Divine Spirit will be in the faithful not in instalments or by measure, but richly and abundantly. They shall perfectly revel in the gifts that are theirs through Christ. In the world to come when the eye of the mind is filled with the knowledge of God, and the rich gifts of the Spirit have come to their perfection, they shall serve God with all their powers, with no sin-divided allegiance, undisturbed by the passions that formerly molested them, sharing with the holy angels for ever the life which is free from sin and sorrow.[28]

7.4 The Special Features of the Life Mediated by the Sacraments

What then is the difference, according to Cyril, between the life that was once given in Creation and is still kept in motion by God, and the life that is mediated by the sacraments? It is Cyril's teaching that God is the Master of all life—even

the life which has rebelled against Him. All life bears the stamp of His ownership, although not all life bears the stamp of His approval. To exist, Cyril teaches, is the lot of all. By virtue of Creation, the Incarnation and the Resurrection, mankind is locked into a state of perpetuity. It is as if Creation, the Incarnation and the Resurrection are invincible causes for the continued existence of all men—even those who live in rebellion against God. As Burghardt has pointed out, Cyril does teach that all the dead will rise in *ἀφθαρσία* though not all will arise in *δόξα*. There is a universal resurrection which has as its basis "... a physical relationship, a physical oneness, with the Incarnate Word, who in His own resurrection raised all men with Him..."[29]

But real life—life which is participation in God through the Incarnate Word and His Spirit—is the life whose renewal on earth is witnessed to and set in motion by Baptism and the Eucharist. This life is not something in which men are locked by necessity. It is a life which one enters by faith—a life in which one participates in Christ and His Spirit willingly and diligently. It is a life in which one is groomed and schooled into incorruptibility. It is more than existence. It is sharing in the life abundant which Jesus speaks about in John 10:11. This is the sort of life which is mediated to those who are united to Christ in a personal, sacramental way.[30]

What Cyril maintains is that man's life which once ended in failure has now been given a new beginning—not through another Adam who is earthly but through an Adam who is both heavenly and earthly. In Christ, God has entered the restorative venture and become Man so that the mistake of Adam may not be repeated, so that this experiment be not abortive. God became Man in order that man's possession of the Spirit, obedience and the whole life of sanctification may be granted a character of stability and permanence.[31] This is what the Economy is all about. This is what Baptism and the Eucharist are all about.[32]

7.5 Relationship Between Baptism and the Eucharist in Cyril's Theology

In what relationship do Baptism and the Eucharist stand to each other in Cyril's theology? Although Christian theology has always held these two sacraments together as two inalienably united means of grace, it has nevertheless tended to associate Baptism with the experience of regeneration by the Spirit and the *beginning* phase of the life of sanctification. Oliver Chase Quick sums up this trend of thought when he writes, "But Christian experience seems to show that what the Christian actually receives in Baptism, beyond the symbolical seal of membership in Christ, is but the initial impulse of the divine power to start him upon his heavenward way. The habitual and ever more profound renewal of that contact with God which he requires, takes place, so far as sacramental media are concerned, in the communion of the Eucharist. Here then is the empirical basis of the

Church's constant belief that the presence of Christ in the Eucharist is to be accounted something more intimately close, more vitally apprehensible, than even His coming to accept and endow a new member of the Father's family."[33]

Cyril speaks highly of the benefits of Baptism and regards it as an absolute condition for participation in the Eucharist.[34] For him it is the means whereby man is indwelt and enriched by the Spirit. But Cyril regards Baptism as a beginning, as a being ushered into the life of sanctification.[35]

It is this distinction in Cyril's teaching which L. Janssens has underlined.[36] This is not to imply in the least that Baptism, according to the views of the Fathers of the Church, was believed to give less of God than does the Eucharist. The one who has come to faith is baptized in the name of the Trinity. Even if he is said to be enriched or indwelt by the Spirit, he is in fact indwelt by the entire Trinity. It is the one essence and energy which is common to all Persons in the Trinity which operates both in Baptism and the Eucharist.

Cyril states explicitly that both Baptism and the Eucharist have the same source—the Incarnate Word. Commenting on John 19:36—37, he has the following to say about the water and blood which flowed from the pierced side of the crucified Christ, "... but, as they had a faint suspicion that He might not be actually dead, they with a spear pierced His side, which sent forth blood, mingled with water; God presenting us thereby with a type, as it were, and foreshadowing the mystery of the Eucharist and Holy Baptism. For Holy Baptism is of Christ, and Christ's institution; and the power of the mystery of the Eucharist grew up for us out of His Holy Flesh."[37]

It is *Christ* who makes the faithful participate in Himself corporeally and spiritually. Christ is the one subject of our affirmations. Both Baptism and the Eucharist have their origin in the Incarnate Word.

Even though Cyril does tend to associate Baptism primarily with the Holy Spirit and the Eucharist primarily with the Incarnate Word, it would be a gross oversimplification to state that he does so in the sense of compartmentalizing the sacraments into different spheres of operation in which different Persons of the Trinity reign supreme. Both sacraments belong to one, overarching reality which has both a Christological and a Pneumatological, a pneumatic and a somatic, a spiritual and a material aspect. We know that in his understanding of Baptism, Cyril associates the sanctification of the soul with the Holy Spirit and the sanctification of the body with the sanctified water, in much the same way that Cyril of Jersualem had done.[38] There is thus a parallel between Cyril's recognition of spiritual and corporeal aspects in both sacraments—a fact which reflects his dichotomist anthropology and his understanding of the way in which grace is mediated to man.

Cyril can write about Baptism in much the same way that he writes about the Eucharist. It will be remembered that he states repeatedly that the Christ whom the faithful receive in the Eucharist vivifies them *πνευματικῶς*. As God, He dwells in them through the Holy Spirit. One finds similar language with regard to Bap-

tism in Cyril who writes, "All defilement having been rubbed off (from us) through the grace of Baptism, we are shown forth to be sharers of the divine nature, Christ dwelling in us through the Spirit."[39] To be baptized is to be indwelt by Christ. Cyril writes, "For where the waters enter, namely those of holy Baptism, there Christ lodges. How, or in what manner? In that they free us from all impurity, and we are washed by them from the stains of sin, that we may also become a holy temple of God, and partakers of His divine nature, by participation of the Holy Ghost."[40]

Comparing Christ, who baptizes with the Holy Spirit, and John who only baptized in water, Cyril states, "He (i.e. Christ) does not add water to water, but completes that which was deficient by adding what was wanting to it."[41] It is absolutely clear that for Cyril Baptism is a sacrament in which not only the Spirit but also Christ is operative.

Both Baptism and the Eucharist are called 'spiritual blessings'. Both sacraments bestow the gift of incorruptibility. Nevertheless, these sacraments, in Cyril's view, portray different aspects of God's redemptive activity among men. J. Mahé brings out the different nuances in Cyril's understanding of the two sacraments when he writes, "The union through faith and love which Baptism procures is a pneumatic or spiritual union; the union which the Eucharist gives is simultaneously spiritual and corporeal, but the corporeal union is the unique and characteristic aspect of communion."[42]

There is a sense in which Cyril maintains that in Baptism too, the faithful are sanctified spiritually and corporeally. But the far greater frequency with which he uses these categories in connection with the Eucharist gives the distinctive impression that in the Eucharist, Cyril recognized a sacrament in which all aspects of the Incarnation and of man's vivification as a composite of body and soul find full expression.

For Cyril, Baptism is primarily the spiritual manner of man's participation in God, whereas the Eucharist gives a participation in God both corporeally and spiritually. Baptism is a precondition for participation in the Eucharist and apart from the Eucharist, it remains incomplete as a means of our vivification. Those who do not participate in the Eucharist faithfully, even though they may claim that it is reverence for the sacrament which keeps them away from it, refuse to be vivified and thus exclude themselves from eternal life.

7.6 Closing Remarks

At the centre of Cyril's understanding of the Christian life stands the Incarnate Word, who reigns as victor over the devil, over the forces of passion, corruptibility and death. Judging from many of his writings, Cyril's view of the Christian life must have been characterized by an intense preoccupation with corruptibility and death and the defeat of these prime enemies of mankind through a participation in

the life of the Word made flesh. At the very centre of this life stands the Eucharist–the cultic prolongation of the Incarnation and its benefits to the faithful.[43]

Cyril's view of the Christian life is strongly coloured by the fact of the Resurrection of Christ. Hugo Rahner has underlined the fact that the theme of Easter as a 'spiritual Spring' is a favourite subject in several of Cyril's Easter sermons.[44] The Eucharist is the mediator of the renewing power of the resurrected body of Christ.

Cyril's understanding of the Christian life is also Pneumato-centric. For Cyril the Fall meant the departure of the Spirit from man. The loss of the virtues and the onset of corruptibility are a direct result of this impoverishment resulting from the Spirit's departure.

Through the Incarnation, human nature is again indwelt and enriched by the Spirit. This enrichment has occurred first and on a fundamental level in Christ. It continues to occur in the lives of the faithful who are united with Christ by faith, Baptism and the Eucharist. The Eucharist is, in a special sense, the heritage through which the Incarnate Word carries out His work of restoring incorruptibility in man.

Notes on Chapter Seven

1 This fact has been pointed out by many students of Cyril. See Weigl 1905 216f.; Struckmann 1910 54f, 56f, 59f., 60–62; Manoir 1944 186f and Langevin 1956 295ff. On Cyril's understanding of the restoration of incorruptibility as a central motive for the Incarnation, see Gross 1938 281ff and Burghardt 1957 91f In this regard Gross sees a kinship among Cyril, Athanasius and the Cappadocian Fathers–particularly between Gregory of Nyssa and Cyril. These three Fathers constitute, according to him, " . le groupe des plus brilliants représentants de la conception physique de la divinisation" Gross 284. The implication is that for these Fathers the identification of the Word with humanity in a *physical* sense through the Incarnation is an essential feature of man's divinization and his restoration to incorruptibility. The Eucharist is, particularly for Gregory of Nyssa and Cyril, the uniquely *physical* means of man's divinization–the means whereby incorruptibility is restored to the body. See Gross 1938 233, 287 He feels that Cyril could very well be directly dependent on Gregory for this emphasis Gross 1938 289. Burghardt, who bases his argument on a study by H. Aubineau on Irenaeus' understanding of incorruptibility and divinization, points out that Cyril could have been influenced by Irenaeus in his views on the restoration of incorruptibility to man. Burghardt 1957 101

2 See note 1 inc. unigen. (Durand 1964 232ff.). See also Burghardt 1957 85f.

3 *Lc.* 22·19ff. (PG 72, 908D)

4 *Jo.* 9 1 (PG 74, 276D–277A).

5 *Jo.* 5.2 (Pusey I 691 l.20f).

6 *Jo* 1.9 (PG 73, 160B).

7 Ibid. (PG 73, 160BC)

8 Burghardt 1957 94.

9 On this subject see Lampe 1951 251f. The author maintains, "It is in the writings of Cyril that we find the most explicit teaching of the identity between the restored image in man and the indwelling of the Spirit which man possessed at the first, but which he lost through the primal sin."

10 Burghardt 1957 105ff.

11 *Isa* 4 1 (PG 70, 892AB)

12 *ador* 2 (PG 68, 244D); *Isa* 1.5 (PG 70, 236B).

13 *Epist LV de Symb Nicaen.* (PG 77, 316BC).

14 *ador* 3 (PG 68, 289BC)

15 Ibid

16 *Mal* 1·10 (PG 72, 297D).

17 *Jo.* 3 (PG 73, 520D–521A)

18 *Jo* 4 (PG 73, 582A).

19 Ibid

20 *Jo* 4 (PG 73, 565D)

21 *Jo* 10 (PG 74, 344B)

22 *I Cor* 6:15 (PG 74, 869CD).

23 *Nest* 4.5 (Pusey 6, 199 l.30f).

24 *Jo.* 4 (PG 73, 577D–580A).

25 Burghardt 1957, 92f

26 *Os.* 2·14 (PG 71, 84A).

27 *Nah* 2:1 (PG 71, 812D).

28 *Mal.* 4:2–3 (PG 72, 361AB).

29 Burghardt 1957 93f., 108ff.

30 Ibid. 92f., 111ff.

31 *Jo.* 5.2 (Pusey I, 693–694); Janssens has aptly summarized Cyril's emphasis in this regard. "It is from God, in so far as He is Creator, that Adam received the Spirit; and by reason of his in-

stability he could lose the Spirit. and he actually did lose Him for our whole nature It is in our Savior, in so far as He is Word Incarnate, that we have obtained the Spirit as a stable gift, because Christ initially gave His immutability to our nature in His divine person In the new economy the communication of the Spirit exhibits a character of stability which it does not possess in the case of Adam, because our human nature is found more intimately united to the divinity by the mystery of the Incarnation than by the fact of creation. Here we have the deep-seated reason for the basic difference between man's primitive situation and his state within the New Testament " Janssens 1938 259 The writer has used Burghardt's translation. Burghardt 1957 115.

32 Gross 1938 286f

33 Quick 1929 187.

34 *Jo.* 12.1 (PG 74 695CD /Pusey III 119 l.19–30/).

35 *fr.Mt* 8:15 (PG 72, 389C)

36 Janssens writes, "La communion est réservée a ceux qui sont déjà sanctifiés dans l'Esprit, et le Christ ne donne sa chair et son sang qu'aux baptisés, qui ont déja reçu la grâce de l'adoption. La nécessité de cette seconde forme de la grâce n'est donc que relative Elle presuppose l'union au Christ par l'Esprit. Mais elle devient ultérieurement l'achèvement de la perfection surnaturelle, et nous devons la considérer ici, pour autant qu'elle ajoute une nuance spéciale à notre participation a la nature divine." Janssens 1938 251 A couple of pages later he developes this thought a little further, "... l'Eucharistie achève notre parente avec le Verbe, notre communion avec le Père, notre participation à la nature divine, en ajoutant à ces relations surnaturelles déjà existantes une nuance spéciale et un caractère souverainement intime, puisque'elle les réalise moyennant un contact très réel entre notre corps et celui du Verbe " Ibid. 253

37 *Jo.* 12 (PG 74, 677AB). Commenting on John 9:6–7, the account of the healing of the blind man by Jesus by means of spittle mixed with earth, Cyril sees a type of the two sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist He writes, "Why, although able to set all things right easily by a word, does He mix up clay from the spittle, and anoint the eyes of the sufferer, and seem to prescribe a sort of operation? . It was not otherwise possible for the Gentiles to thrust off the blindness which affected them, and to behold the divine and holy light, that is, to receive the knowledge of the holy and consubstantial Trinity, except by being made partakers of His Holy Body, and washing away their gloom-producing sin, and renouncing the authority of the devil, namely in Holy Baptism." As in the case of the water and blood which flowed from the pierced side of the crucified Christ, Cyril sees the Incarnate Word as the source of the two sacraments and of the two modes whereby the faithful are sanctified *Jo* 6.1 (PG 73, 694BC).

38 *Cat. illum* 3, 4 (PG 33, 429AB)

39 *glaph. Num* (PG 69, 625C).

40 *Lc* (Smith, *LFC* 1869 661).

41 Ibid 731.

42 Mahé 1907 685

43 "The Eucharist is central for the comprehension of Cyril's religion . . Here is the heart of Cyril's faith, the dynamic which imparted such intense religious fervour to his monophysite monks Every Eucharist is a reincarnation of the Logos who is there *πάλιν ἐν σώματι*, and whose *ἰδία σάρξ* is given to the communicant " Chadwick 1951 155.

44 Rahner 1959 68–75 Rahner points out that both Athanasius and Theophilus had used this symbolism. He links the symbolism with what he calls 'stoische Naturmythik'. Ibid. 68. One of Cyril's sources for this symbolism could have been the *περὶ Πάσχα* of Hyppolytus. Ibid. 72.

Summary

In this study we set out to demonstrate that Cyril's eucharistic theology is an illustration of a vigorous and consistent effort to apply Christology to the realm of worship and life. Central to our inquiry was his presupposition that mortal man must participate in the body of Him who is 'Life by nature' in order to return to a state of incorruptibility. We have attempted to identify the Christological, Pneumatological, anthropological and liturgical strands of this basic presupposition and weave them into a eucharistic theology.

The core of our inquiry was Cyril's designation of the Eucharist as 'Life-giving Blessing'. Since Cyril's main contribution to Christian thinking is in the realm of Christological doctrine, we began by spelling out the Christological basis for this designation.

Time and again Cyril calls the body or flesh of Christ 'the very own property' (*ἴδιος*) of the Logos. This attribute implies neither a merger of flesh and divinity (a heresy of which Apollinaris of Laodicea was accused) nor a mere indwelling of divinity in human flesh (as Nestorius and Antiochene theologians were accused to have taught) but rather a true and intimate union which passes understanding. It is Cyril's contention that it is only human nature united to divinity in a union 'according to hypostasis' (*καθ' ὑπόστασιν*) which can vivify mortal man and grant him incorruptibility. Thus the union of the natures in Christ by virtue of which Christ's body has become life-giving provides the basis for Cyril's designation of the body of Christ in the Eucharist as 'life-giving'.

We have also spelled out Cyril's understanding of the body and blood of Christ as 'life-giving' in terms of the concepts of divine power (*δύναμις*) and energy (*ἐνέργεια*). Both of these terms are used as indicators of unity of operation in the divine Triad. The Fathers of the Church have used these terms also to spell out the union of divine and human natures in the Incarnation. The divine *δύναμις* and *ἐνέργεια* which rendered the body of Christ 'life-giving' while He lived and ministered on earth render the Eucharist 'life-giving'.

We dwelt on the eucharistic liturgy as a drama in which the Incarnation is reactualized—though not repeated. This liturgical reactualization of the Incarnation, though understood by the Fathers of the Church as occurring throughout the liturgy, nevertheless finds its focus in the Spirit-epiclesis. Cyril spells out the implications of this 'reactualization' in terms of the operation of divine *δύναμις* and *ἐνέργεια* on the elements of bread and wine. However, the *δύναμις* and *ἐνέργεια* which operate in the consecration of the elements appear to be references to the Logos. That Cyril, in all probability, conceived of the consecration of the elements primarily in terms of the power and energy of the Incarnate Word is in

our opinion a striking witness to the dominance of the Incarnate Word in his theology. Thus there is a consistency between the basic presupposition of Cyril's eucharistic doctrine (mortal man must participate in the body of Him who is 'Life by nature') and his understanding as to *who* renders the bread and wine 'life-giving'. On the basis of this observation we have asserted that Cyril's understanding of the 'epiclesis' appears to be Logos- rather than Spirit-oriented.

On the subject of Cyril's understanding of the *mode* of Christ's presence in the Eucharist, scholars have had divergent views. Roman Catholic scholarship regards Cyril as a proponent of a eucharistic 'realism', whereas Protestant scholarship, particularly in its German variety, has tended to see in Cyril the proponent of a 'dynamic' understanding of the Eucharist.

It must be admitted that Cyril's pronouncements on the subject of the mode of the presence of Christ in the Eucharist are marked by ambiguity. Nevertheless, two facts have to be born in mind in considering this aspect of his eucharistic theology. The idea that, in contrast to the rites and worship of the Old Covenant, Christian worship is a worship 'in spirit and in truth', is a dominant feature of Cyril's understanding of the eucharistic liturgy. Thus he calls the Eucharist 'spiritual worship', 'spiritual sacrifice', and 'spiritual nourishment'. In company with several other Alexandrian Fathers, Cyril teaches that what the Eucharist bestows is received 'spiritually' (*πνευματικῶς*). These expressions can easily give the impression that Cyril's understanding of the mode of the presence of Christ's body in the Eucharist is 'dynamic' or 'spiritual' rather than 'corporeal' or 'substantial'.

Nevertheless, it was our contention that Cyril's teaching on this issue must be considered as part and parcel of his understanding of the Incarnation. On the level of Christological doctrine, Cyril maintains that following the Incarnation, the human and divine natures are inseparable. This insight must be pursued into Cyril's teaching on the mode of the presence of Christ in the Eucharist. For Cyril, Christ is *One.* He is always God and Man, Spirit and body. In the Eucharist, too, He is present as an unabridged unity of God and Man, Spirit and body—even though following His Resurrection His entire state of being and operation is 'pneumatic'. But this fact does not imply that Christ is a divine being minus *σῶμα.* Cyril's Christ is never so spiritualized that He ceases to be present *σωματικῶς* in the Eucharist. In the Eucharist Christ is received spiritually (*πνευματικῶς*) and bodily (*σωματικῶς*). This implies that He is present both spiritually and bodily.

The last two chapters of our study took up the benefits bestowed by the Eucharist. We have attempted to identify two aspects of the gift of 'life' as granted by the Eucharist. These two aspects are intimately interrelated.

The first gift granted by the Eucharist can be said to be 'union with the life of the Incarnate Word'. Christ, who as God is consubstantial with the Father and the Spirit, unites the faithful with the Godhead. He thus becomes a way for the believer's participation in the nature of God. Furthermore, as Man, Christ becomes a basis for union on two levels. Through their participation in the

Eucharist, the faithful become 'concorporeal' (*σύσσωμοι*) *with Christ*. Secondly, the faithful become 'concorporeal' *with one another* by virtue of the fact that they share in the same physical body of Christ. Thus, union with Christ (and in consequence of that, participation in the divine nature) as well as union with the community of faith, can be said to be twin gifts bestowed by the Eucharist.

In the context of this union, the faithful are pictured as a pilgrim community fed by the Eucharist which is true food and drink. The Eucharist is good 'journey provision' (*ἐφόδιον*). It subdues the passions, causes the virtues to flourish, repels the devil, lifts the fallen, heals the sick, and gives spiritual wisdom.

The gift which Cyril mentions most frequently in connection with the Eucharist is, however, incorruptibility. Corruptibility means for Cyril more than the fact that the body dies. It is a more comprehensive characterization of the life resulting from the Fall. Nevertheless, the very fact that death is for Cyril primarily a bodily experience and the fact that Christ defeated death in the body, leads Cyril to maintain that the body of Christ in the Eucharist bestows incorruptibility to man's mortal body.

Baptism, a sacrament which Cyril tends to associate primarily with the granting of the Holy Spirit and which he regards as an indispensable precondition for the reception of the Eucharist, is nevertheless a beginning, an admission into the life incorruptible. It is the Eucharist, the 'seed of immortality' which impregnates the body with incorruptibility. But the Eucharist has to be taken regularly to accomplish its purpose. Cyril's understanding of the operation of the Eucharist is 'physical' to such an extent that he regards irregularity in reception of the Eucharist as a peril to eternal life.

Cyril's eucharistic theology is an unreduced shadow of his theology of the Incarnation. As a theologian Cyril is preoccupied not with concepts about the Person of Christ and the intricacies of the 'how' of His presence in the Eucharist but rather with the Person of Christ as such, the God-Man who is just as fully present and operative in the Eucharist as He was when He walked and ministered on earth.

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Index of Names

This index includes the names of persons, churches, schools of philosophy and theology, documents connected with eucharistic liturgies etc. Notes are referred to only when they provide further information on a given name. References of major importance are indicated by bold-face numerals.

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